

The American **FEDERATIONIST**

MAY 1955
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PERIODICAL
READING ROOM

Bricklayers' Story

by Harry C. Bates

Victory in Massachusetts

by Kenneth J. Kelley

They're Spending Your Money

by Nelson Cruikshank

We Beat 'Right to Work'

*by Harry Cohen
and J. C. Turner*

Union Label Show Goes to Buffalo

Raymond F. Leheney



See You at the **UNION MEETING**



A weak union can't win higher wages and improved conditions. A weak union is pushed around. So, in fairness to yourself and your fellow trade unionists, won't you do your part to help build your union? It isn't hard. Just take a genuine interest in union affairs. Study your union's problems. Bring new members into the fold. And attend union meetings regularly. This is the sensible way, the practical way, the right way to build your union—and it will pay off for you in satisfaction and in higher pay, better conditions, greater security.

The American FEDERATIONIST

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor

MAY, 1955

GEORGE MEANY, Editor

Vol. 62, No. 5

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Labor United

The dream of labor unity is finally in sight. As George Meany and Walter Reuther have rightly pointed out, unity of the American labor movement is coming at a time when the unity of all the American people is most urgently needed in the face of the Communist threat to world peace and civilization. And, as these two leaders have pledged, united labor will place itself at the service of the American people and, by its responsibility and sense of dedication to our democratic ideals, will help build a better nation and a stronger free world.

United, the labor movement will marshal greater strength and greater resources and thus will pave the way for a higher standard of living for the people of America.

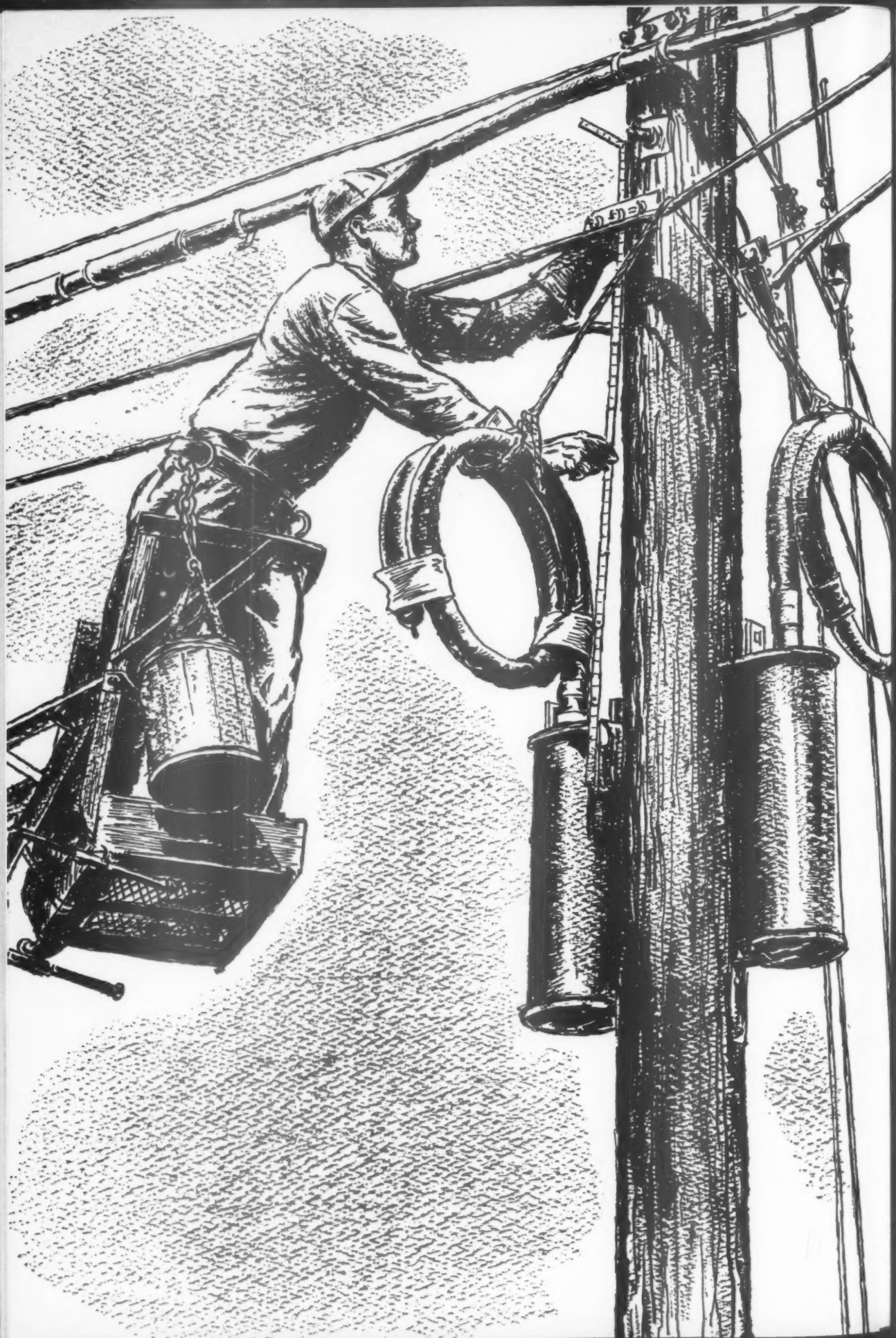
United, the labor movement will have a stronger voice among the lawmakers. It can bring to a stop the present trend of anti-labor legislation and can give more forceful aid to legislative measures that will benefit the wage-earners.

And last—but by far not least—united, the labor movement will be better equipped to organize the many millions of workers who still do not fully benefit from the gains organized labor has achieved through collective bargaining.

Of course, caution and great patience will be necessary to achieve labor unity. Unity can never be achieved in our democracy as the result of regimentation. It can be achieved only as a result of voluntary action of free labor organizations. We know that it will depend on the cooperation of each national and international union—in fact, on each local union—to bring to life the spirit of, and the desire for, labor unity as expressed in the historic merger document.

Edward R. Moffett.

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George Meany Addresses C.I.O. Auto Convention

THE united labor movement will uphold high moral standards, keep pushing for ever-advancing living conditions and strive for job security and broader social protections for the nation's workers.

A. F. of L. President George Meany made this pledge in an address to the C.I.O. United Automobile Workers' convention in Cleveland. It was the first C.I.O. union convention that he had ever addressed. Mr. Meany's remarks drew cheers and applause from the delegates.

Taking up the charges that the merger of organized labor would concentrate "too much power" in labor's hands and that it might be used politically, Mr. Meany told the convention that the merged federation certainly would be active in politics. Not, he emphasized, with the idea of "running the country" nor of seeking public office for trade unionists, but "of continuing the forward march of labor" and of combating

hostile legislation like the Taft-Hartley Act and the "right to work" laws enacted by eighteen states.

"We didn't choose this political battleground," Mr. Meany said. "If they can pass laws that hamstring, weaken and destroy the trade union movement, then our place to defend ourselves is in the same legislative halls where they passed those laws."

The A. F. of L.'s president made only an indirect reference in his speech to the guaranteed annual wage—the big issue before the convention. At a later press conference, however, he told reporters he stood 100 per cent in favor of the guaranteed annual wage in those industries where it is practical and he was willing to take the word of Walter Reuther, president of the union, that the guaranteed annual wage is practical in the automobile industry.

The convention voted to create a defense fund to assist members in case a strike is necessary to win the drive



GEORGE MEANY

for a guaranteed annual wage. Mr. Meany told newsmen the U.A.W.-C.I.O. would probably get assistance from A. F. of L. unions "if they asked for it."

In his address to the convention, Mr. Meany drew a parallel between labor's fight in past decades for workmen's compensation and the Auto Workers' present demands.

William Schnitzler Assails Administration Failures

LABOR will use its merged strength in the cause of social, economic and political progress, William F. Schnitzler told the convention in Washington of Americans for Democratic Action.

"In approaching the great issues of the day," said the secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, "labor will endeavor to exert all of the influence that is due it as the representative of millions of workers and their families whose interests are affected by the outcome of these issues."

Mr. Schnitzler promised a hard-hitting campaign in 1956 to "place responsibility directly at the door where it properly belongs." The American Federation of Labor, he said, has no interest in "the personal life or habits of anyone in public office."

"A President," said Mr. Schnitzler, "who is willing to stand up and fight for, as well as to talk about, the rights and interests of the people when the occasion demands it would draw nothing but praise from me, though he played golf, pool or poker from sun to sun. I am interested in where his convictions and his policies are, and not his person."

"And when he speaks in a liberal or humanitarian vein, I want to see if his budget is in line with what he

says before reaching any final judgment—for the road to perdition is paved with pious statements and good intentions."

The Eisenhower Administration's record, said Secretary Schnitzler, has shaken "the legend of the big businessman as a superman and ultimate savior of government." He cited the record of Defense Secretary Wilson as far from "anything remarkable." He referred to Commerce Secretary Weeks as "Boston's protest against the Twentieth Century."

Totting up the record, said Mr. Schnitzler, "we find that once again the rich got the gravy and they gave the deficit to the poor."

He then said:

"If this is the way that businessmen govern our affairs, then I can only say: 'Bring back the bureaucrats and the politicians.'"

Mr. Schnitzler expressed his non-acceptance of the idea that there is a shortage of good political issues at the present time.

"Under an Administration that does nothing for the general public interest without seeking to divert it in some way into the channel of private profit," he said, "there can be a shortage of issues only among those who believe that nothing should be done."

"If you have a positive program to offer as an alternative to both inaction and reaction, there will always be plenty of genuine public issues."

In his address to the A.D.A. convention, the secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of Labor declared that the cause of human progress must be served abroad as well as at home.

"The trade union movement is endeavoring to live up to that responsibility," Mr. Schnitzler said.



WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER

THE BRICKLAYERS' STORY

By HARRY C. BATES

*President, Bricklayers, Masons and
Plasterers International Union of America*

THE Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union of America is one of the oldest of the trade unions in this country. Although it was formally organized on October 17, 1865, there were a number of Bricklayers' locals in existence at that time which actually dated back to 1833.

It was in the early part of the Nineteenth Century that the struggle for the ten-hour day became intensified, and it was but natural that the Bricklayers should take the lead in that effort. As the Baltimore Bricklayers expressed it in May of 1833:

"Since we are more exposed, since we start earlier and stop later than any other mechanics and since a man after fifteen hours exposed to the scorching rays of the summer sun returns to his home worried and dejected, so that he feels no relish for society or improvement but throws himself down to sleep till the light of the coming day calls him to renew his labors * * * ."

Because of these conditions, they made up their minds that they would work no more than ten hours a day.

The Bricklayers had taken the lead in organizing a strike of the building trades for the ten-hour day and were successful after a three-week strike. They maintained an organization in various forms for many years thereafter. The Philadelphia Bricklayers had also taken part in the building trades strike back in 1835, as had the Plasterers.

The latter were successful in obtaining the closed shop as a result of that strike, but when the panic of 1837 struck, employers took advantage of the situation to break up the unions, and six plasterers were convicted and fined for "conspiracy."

Under the English common law, organization of workers to obtain higher wages was ruled a conspiracy. During the period of 1800 to 1820 there were a number of convictions



MR. BATES

for attempting to organize. Among the workers thus convicted were tailors in New York and shoemakers in Philadelphia. By 1830, however, the more liberal judges refused to rule workers' organizations as conspiracies except where states had enacted statutes to that effect, as was the case in New York State. By the time of Andrew Jackson's second term as President, workers felt more secure and gave impetus to the ten-hour movement. By 1836 the ten-hour day was the standard for the building trades in most cities.

The panic of 1837 and the depression which continued from 1837 to the discovery of gold in California in 1849 put a damper on the movement toward workers' organization. While there was a considerable growth of cooperatives and benevolent organizations during that period, trade unionism was virtually at a standstill. In 1850 it was the Bricklayers again who took the lead in reviving protective trade unions. This time it was the New York Bricklayers who combined two bricklayers' benevolent societies into a single protective union

of bricklayers and plasterers. Through their activities they succeeded in increasing the wages to \$2.50 per day. Such wages were the envy of all the other building trades, who soon followed the Bricklayers' example.

By 1855 there were as many as thirty protective trade unions in New York City. Not only were local unions organized during this period but national trade unions were also being formed. In 1856 the Journeyman Stonecutters Union of the United States and Canada was organized as was the National Cigarmakers Union.

Panic struck the country again in 1857. As in previous panics, the unions were wiped out. Competition for jobs was too keen for any union to survive. A few organizations that had built up a reserve of benevolent funds, such as the Typographical Union, were able to maintain their identity, but such unions were unable to function effectively in the field of wages and working conditions. During this period anti-slavery agitation became intensified and trade unionism made no progress until near the end of the Civil War.

The inflation of the Civil War had reduced real wages to an almost unbearable point when in 1863, under the guidance of Jonathan Fincher, the workers in the Baldwin locomotive works went out on strike despite the fact that the largest munitions plant at the time was the Baldwin works. Out of that strike Fincher organized the Machinists and Blacksmiths National Union. More important, however, he established *Fincher's Trade Review*, a weekly labor newspaper which had an important influence in promoting the further organization of trade unions.

By 1864 hundreds of local unions had been formed. The Bricklayers of Baltimore reorganized their union on St. Patrick's Day in 1864 and the Philadelphia Bricklayers formed the "Philadelphia Bricklayers' Associa-

tion" that same year. The New York Bricklayers had again demanded and were successful in obtaining \$2.50 per day, a wage they had achieved before the panic of 1857.

By May, 1865, a building boom was in the making. The Baltimore Bricklayers obtained an agreement calling for \$4 per day. However, one month later the Mason Contractors Association demanded an exclusive contract with the union or a reduction to \$3.50 per day. The union refused to tie itself to an exclusive contract and went on strike. During that strike the Baltimore union was aided by the Philadelphia Bricklayers' Association and in October, at the suggestion of Jonathan Fincher, the two unions met in a conference at Painters' Hall in Philadelphia to form a national union.

The meeting was held on October 16, 1865, and attended by nine delegates—five from Baltimore and four from the Philadelphia union. The next day, October 17, a constitution was adopted and the first officers elected. The Bricklayers International Union of North America was launched. The first officers were John A. White of Baltimore, president; Jarred Bitting of Philadelphia, vice-president; J. Edward Kirby of Baltimore, secretary, and Joseph Hackney of Philadelphia, treasurer. The constitution provided for a convention to be held the second Monday in January of each year, and the first convention was held in Baltimore January 8, 1866.

Secretary Kirby had corresponded with existing Bricklayers' locals throughout the country, and nine local unions were represented at the Baltimore convention. It was estimated that these unions represented 1,750 members. In 1867 the international union called for its first strike assessment.

The employers of Poughkeepsie had issued an edict that no member of the newly formed Bricklayers Union would be hired unless he first surrendered his card. The employers believed that no bricklayer would give up a job merely to belong to a union. That they were mistaken is evidenced by the fact that all building work was completely tied up. John Frost, who was now president of the international union, has called for an assessment of twenty-five cents per member. In two weeks the strike

was won and the men went back to work as union members.

The union prospered and by 1869 had grown to 6,075 members in forty-one local unions. At the convention of 1868 the president had reported that there was little opportunity to organize outside the United States and proposed to change the name of the organization to "National Bricklayers Union."

Perhaps the most important reason for this change was the fact that the organization hoped to obtain a national charter from Congress. This would give the union a legal standing so that it could protect its funds and perhaps, avoid prosecution for conspiracy. Some six members in Morrisania (The Bronx), New York, had been arrested and charged with conspiracy during a strike that year. The conspiracy statutes were a continually present threat.

The attempts to obtain a national charter ranged over a number of years but on all occasions met with failure. Congress was not yet ready to cast the mantle of respectability over trade unions.

During 1869 there was considerable evidence that the postwar building boom was dying, and the next three years saw a continuous battle to maintain wages in the face of a receding building volume. By 1873 the depression had spread to all activity throughout the country. Unemployment was rife. By 1874 the membership was down to 2,300.

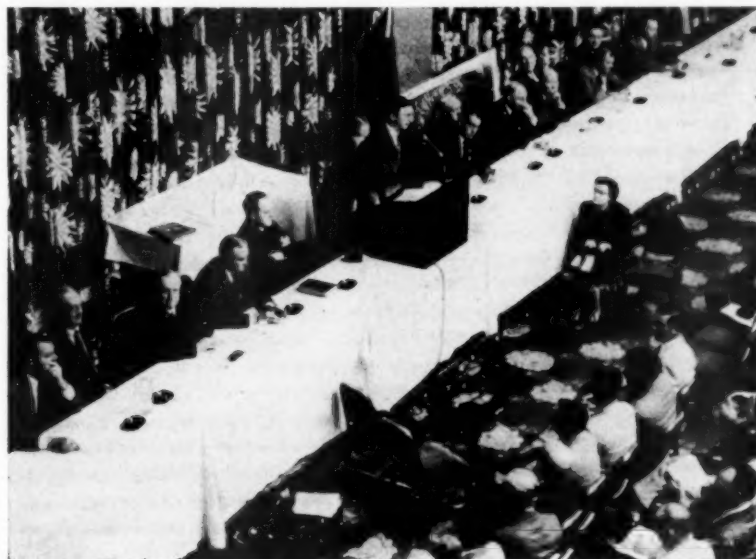
In the midst of the depression, an

internal dispute arose over the adoption of a new secret "ritual" which resulted in the secession of more than half the locals and the formation of the "United Order of American Bricklayers." The combined effects of the depression and secession were almost fatal. When the convention met in Covington, Kentucky, on January 13, 1879, there were only three subordinate unions with a membership of 229.

WHILE it appeared at that convention that "nothing remained but to prepare for the burial," the nine delegates were determined that they would maintain an organization of bricklayers at all costs. They placed full control of the organization in the hands of the three executive officers—Thomas R. Gockel, president; Isaac Kelly, vice-president, and Luther Carpenter, secretary-treasurer.

These three men were authorized and instructed to hold office and maintain the organization until such time as there appeared to be enough subordinate unions to hold another convention.

During 1879 and 1880 Carpenter and Gockel wrote letters to every member and former member they could reach, pleading with them to maintain or renew their membership so that there would be a nucleus around which bricklayers could rally when conditions improved. The results were disheartening and would have completely routed men made of weaker stuff. For months they re-



Bricklayers' convention scene. The union is thoroughly democratic

ceived not a single response to their pleas, yet they continued.

In the fall of 1880 their efforts began to bear fruit. The Brooklyn union and six other former subordinate unions in the New York and Northern New Jersey area applied for reinstatement. In addition, applications for charters were received

from Providence and Buffalo groups.

With these brighter prospects a convention was called for January, 1881, and it was held in New York City. Thirteen subordinate unions were represented at that convention and the membership was reported as 1,553.

The period from 1880 to 1904 was

an era of expansion for trade unions generally. The Bricklayers were no exception. In 1883 Toronto and Hamilton, Ontario, were admitted and the name of the organization was changed to Bricklayers and Masons International Union. The idea of a charter from Congress had been abandoned. (Continued on Page 28)

Labor Loses a Great Leader

ONE of the great leaders of the American labor movement is dead. Daniel W. Tracy, for many years a member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, passed away in Washington, D. C., on March 22. He had been president emeritus of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers since April of last year. Previously he had served as president of the I.B.E.W. from 1933 to 1940 and from 1947 to 1954. Between his two terms as head of the I.B.E.W., Brother Tracy served as Assistant Secretary of Labor.

He was a member of the Joint Unity Committee of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and it was one of the greatest satisfactions of his life when on February 9 of this year A. F. of L. and C.I.O. leaders signed an agreement to establish a single trade union center through the process of merger.

Born at Bloomington, Illinois, Brother Tracy went to Houston, Texas, in 1910 and was initiated into Local 716 of the Electrical Workers in that city in 1913. One of his first electrical jobs was at the Rice Hotel in Houston. During the next few years he worked as a lineman and a wireman in Texas and Oklahoma. Before long he won recognition in his local union and was elected business manager of his own Local 716 and also of Local 66.

In less than seven years after his initiation into the I.B.E.W., Dan Tracy was elected international vice-president for the Southwestern and South Central states. Assuming this office on January 1, 1920, he served as international vice-president until 1933 when the union's Executive Council appointed him to fill the office of international president. The vacancy in the top office had been



THE LATE DANIEL W. TRACY

created when President H. H. Broach resigned.

The federal government soon realized that Dan Tracy was a man of great ability. In 1935 he went to the International Labor Conference at Geneva, Switzerland, on appointment by President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Three years later he served as labor adviser to Secretary of State Cordell Hull at the Pan-American Conference in Lima, Peru.

As the nation's defense program got under way in 1940, President Roosevelt asked Brother Tracy to accept appointment as Assistant Secretary of Labor. A man who had devoted his life up to this point to the cause of organized labor, he recognized at once that the needs of his country in a time of emergency were paramount, and he felt that it was desirable for men of labor to serve in the government. As Assistant Secretary of Labor he made numerous valuable contributions to victory.

For a brief period after the war he was labor director of the International Labor Organization. In Septem-

ber of 1946 the I.B.E.W. convention drafted him for a return to the office of president which he had vacated upon becoming Assistant Secretary of Labor. He took up the duties as president for a second time on January 1, 1947.

Brother Tracy was elected to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and was re-elected each year by the A. F. of L.'s conventions. At the time of his death he was the A. F. of L.'s tenth vice-president.

Last year he decided that the time had come to resign as president of the Electrical Workers. He was succeeded by J. Scott Milne, who had been international secretary. Brother Tracy was immediately asked by the I.B.E.W.'s Executive Council to serve as president emeritus. He accepted. Last autumn the union's convention in Chicago cheered him and paid high tribute to his many years of devoted and productive service.

Death came swiftly. Stricken in the lobby of the hotel where he lived with his wife, Jule, Brother Tracy died before he reached the hospital. Funeral services were held March 25 at the Church of St. Thomas the Apostle in Washington. Interment was at Bloomington, Illinois.

A. F. of L. President George Meany and Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler, speaking for all the members of the A. F. of L., paid high tribute to Brother Tracy's important contributions to the welfare of the nation's workers and called him "an earnest co-worker and a stalwart leader of our trade union movement." A tribute came also from C.I.O. President Walter P. Reuther, who praised Brother Tracy for his "devotion to the principles of trade unionism."

In the passing of Daniel W. Tracy, the working people of this nation have lost a sincere and able leader.

They're Spending Your Money

By NELSON H. CRUIKSHANK

Director, A. F. of L. Social Insurance Activities

TUCKED away in the small print of Report No. 228 of the House of Representatives, Eighty-fourth Congress, First Session—without so much as being set off by a subtitle—is a paragraph which represents the most significant action taken by a Congressional body in the field of unemployment compensation within the last five years. It refers to an organization known as the Interstate Conference of Employment Security Agencies. After pointing out that the ostensible purposes of the organization are such that the House Committee has no quarrel with them, the report states:

"However, the committee's attention is, from time to time, called to alleged lobbying and other activities, the travel and other incidental costs of which could not properly be charged to this or any other federal appropriation. The committee hopes that the Department [of Labor] will do more than has been evident in the recent past to protect this appropriation from such improper use."

The report then goes on to require that the Department of Labor furnish the House Appropriations Committee, by the end of May, with a complete statement for each state listing all interstate travel made during the calendar year 1954 by any officer or employee of employment security departments, the expenses of which were paid by grants from the appropriation to the Department of Labor. The information called for must be detailed in terms of the time and the expenditures involved, and the purpose of each out-of-state trip. The committee closes by requesting that a similar statement be submitted annually hereafter to the Appropriations Committee.

The implications of this directive are far-reaching. It may well mark the beginning of the end of one of the most flagrant instances of bureaucratic abuse in a governmental program in many years.



MR. CRUIKSHANK

For some time past, state employment security directors and other officials of the state agencies have been able to spend the taxpayers' money, for travel and other purposes, practically without being accountable to any elective body. While the roots of this evil go back several years, the abuse of this virtual immunity has grown more flagrant during the past year and one-half as the will to exercise its responsibility on the part of the U.S. Department of Labor has dwindled almost to the vanishing point.

PRIOR to the issuance of Report No. 228 by Congressman John E. Fogarty of Rhode Island, chairman of the Labor-Health, Education and Welfare Appropriations Subcommittee, the Labor Department had instituted a policy permitting directors of state employment security agencies to travel among the states or to and from Washington as they wished, without any prior approval by the Department of Labor, despite the fact that such expenses came out of the administrative costs of the state agencies, all of which are paid for

out of grants of money appropriated to the Department.

In theory, as soon as the money is granted by the federal agency to the state it becomes state money, and according to this theory the appropriate state officials are supposed to exercise some control over the expenditures by the state directors. However, it is obvious that state finance officers are not going to be too exercised about expenditures by a state official if those expenditures do not have to be included in the budget of the state and raised by local taxation.

With state auditors or comptrollers not much concerned about expenditures dished out by a federal department and with this department granting travel authorities without any prior justification or with no effective post-audit, there was created a situation where the state officials were spending public money without being accountable, in effect, either to elected state representatives or to any branch of the federal government.

I want to say right at this point that not all state administrators are a part of this operation. Most of their agencies are affiliated with the Interstate Conference of Employment Security Agencies, but not all of them by any means are dedicated to the purposes to which this organization has recently been suborned. There are able, conscientious, dedicated men and women employed in many state employment security agencies. We know many of them and have the highest respect for them.

The very nature of the setup, however, makes it difficult to maintain integrity and objectivity in the administration of the present unemployment compensation program. Employer experience rating puts a premium on the development of discriminatory disqualifying provisions which undermine the very basic principles of unemployment insurance. Literally billions of dollars are represented by the varying tax rates that

grow out of the eligibility and disqualification provisions of state unemployment compensation laws.

During the time that important unemployment compensation bills, all of which carried the potential of affecting the employer tax, were before the Eighty-third Congress, the Interstate Conference of Employment Security Agencies held eighteen meetings of committees in Washington. These meetings called for attendance on the part of 108 state officials and involved their spending something over 400 man-days in Washington. Some of these meetings were of a technical nature and probably useful to the program. How much of the time of the officials attending was spent in lobbying or other activities detrimental to the program is not now known. Nor is it known how many extra trips to Washington, not connected with meetings, were made by state officials. That will come to light when the first audits are made to Congress under the new order.

Numerous attempts have been made to bring this situation to the attention of the appropriate governmental departments and agencies, with a request to "clean up this mess in Washington." At the meeting of the Social Security Committee of the American Federation of Labor early in 1954, the situation was thoroughly aired. At the direction of the committee, a subcommittee called upon Secretary of Labor Mitchell and presented the problem to him. The fact was brought to his attention that the full-time staff of the Interstate Conference of Employment Security Agencies was on the payroll of the Bureau of Employment Security of the Department of Labor. The Secretary seemed to be much concerned that such an organization was apparently being nurtured at the breast of his Department. However, nothing was done.

In March of last year Andrew J. Biemiller of the A. F. of L. Legislative Committee and I were testifying before the Senate Finance Committee on the Reed bill. We introduced in evidence at that time a long document signed by two officers of the Interstate Conference giving clear evidence that they were actively lobbying in behalf of certain provisions of the Reed bill which were contrary to those being supported by the U.S. Labor Department and Treasury Department. We

challenged the fitness and the legality of lobbying activities by state employees whose salaries, office expenses and travel expenses were paid out of grants made from federal appropriations.

In response to our request, the chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, Senator Milliken of Colorado, said:

"My memory is that there is some kind of a statute that bears on that subject. Do you claim that that statute has been violated?"

"I am asking the committee," I answered, "to make an inquiry as to whether they [the representatives of the Interstate Conference] are in violation of the law or whether they are in violation of propriety, Mr. Chairman."

Senator Milliken replied:

"We might do that some time when we haven't anything else to do."

(Page 161, *Hearings Before the Committee on Finance, U.S. Senate, Eighty-third Congress, Second Session.*)

To date, the Senator has understandably not found any time to look into either the propriety or the legality of state employees expending federal money for lobbying purposes. Or, if he has, he has not seen fit to reveal his findings in the matter.

In the summer of 1954 a special task force made a study of the operation of the Department of Labor at the request of Secretary Mitchell. This task force was headed by the dean of the faculty of Princeton University, Dr. J. Douglas Brown, and included William Stead, former director of the U.S. Employment Service; Dr. Clark Kerr, chancellor, University of California; Dr. Eli Ginsberg of Columbia University and Cyrus Ching, formerly U.S. Mediation Director and formerly personnel director, U.S. Rubber Company. Included in their findings was an exposé of the operation of the Interstate Conference and a scathing indictment of the way it had usurped the legitimate functions of the Bureau of Employment Security. Recommendations were made to the Secretary of Labor on how to clean up this administrative monstrosity.

Nothing happened.

In September of 1954 the seventy-third convention of the American Federation of Labor called attention to the nature of the Interstate Conference and the effect of its activities

on efforts to improve the unemployment compensation system.

The Secretary did nothing.

On November 15, 1954, there was a regularly scheduled meeting of the Federal Advisory Council. This is a tripartite Council, established originally with the passage of the Wagner-Peyser Act in June, 1933. It is composed of representatives of labor, management and the general public, the latter including representatives of veterans' organizations. Its statutory duties are to advise the Secretary of Labor on policies relating to the operation of the employment security program.

No discussion of the Interstate Conference and its operations was scheduled for that meeting, but, on seeing present at the head table of the Council a representative of the Interstate Conference, the president of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, Mr. James Brownlow, addressed a series of penetrating questions to the director of the Bureau of Employment Security.

Among other things, he wanted to know why the Bureau was abdicating so much of its responsibility in favor of this Interstate Conference and why it was permitting its representatives to lobby, at public expense, against the Administration's program.

WHEN the dust raised by two hours of heated discussion of Mr. Brownlow's charges had settled, the Advisory Council adopted, by a vote of 25 to 2, a resolution which called upon the Secretary of Labor to make an inquiry into the "legislative activities" (meaning lobbying activities) of the members of the Interstate Conference and called on him to provide the Council with an accounting for the travel costs and other expenditures in connection with these activities by state directors during the past fiscal year.

On November 24, 1954, a number of the American Federation of Labor members of the Federal Advisory Council again called on Secretary Mitchell personally and explained to him the purpose of the motion that had been made and the reasons back of Mr. Brownlow's charges, presenting documentary evidence of the lobbying activities. They made it very clear to the Secretary that, because of the long-standing and deep interest on the part of the American

Federation of Labor in the U.S. Department of Labor, regardless of what political party was in control, it was their hope that this disgraceful situation could be cleaned up on the initiative of the Secretary and his aides in the Department. They expressed the hope that it would not be necessary to go to Congress for action, stating that the prestige and dignity of the Department of Labor could be greatly enhanced if the Department itself would take the necessary steps.

Four months passed and nothing was done. That is, nothing was done to clean up the situation.

One thing was done that was not without significance. The chairman of the Legislative Committee of the Interstate Conference of Employment Security Agencies, Mr. Newell Brown—against whose lobbying at federal expense we had specifically complained at the hearing before the Senate Finance Committee in March—was nominated by President Eisenhower for the important post of director of the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions of the Department of Labor.

At his press conference on Monday, March 21, Secretary Mitchell claimed to have "found" Mr. Brown after a long and careful search for

the best man available for the job. By this action the Secretary gave effective notice that if you want to get ahead in the Department of Labor these days, you don't do it by supporting the "dynamic and progressive program" but by latching on to some federal funds and by using them to lobby against the Administration's proposals. All state directors now know that if they wish to be "found," this is the way.

Finally, on March 17 (the day before Congressman Fogarty's committee report) the director of the Bureau of Employment Security sent a letter to all the state unemployment agencies asking for the information about legislative activities on the part of the state directors that had been sought by the Advisory Council in November.

Significantly, a week earlier the president of the Interstate Conference had circularized all state directors referring to the action of the Council as a "fishing expedition" and, in effect, advising them that the manner in which they expended federal money for travel was none of the federal government's business.

A number of state directors took exception to this high-handed attitude, and promptly notified their

president he wasn't speaking for them. One of them said, in effect, "I thought our position was that we had nothing to hide."

I wish I could end this article by reporting that, at long last, the activities of this organization have been brought under normal governmental controls. Congressman Fogarty's report is a significant contribution in the struggle to repair the damage done to the orderly legislative process in considering changes in the unemployment compensation system.

An important battle has been won, but the war is not over. But, at least, state officials in the unemployment compensation program will now have to do what other people have to do when they spend taxpayers' money. They will now have to justify each separate trip and account for the time and expenses involved when they are absent from their official posts of duty. In the face of this requirement, it is expected that there will be considerably fewer committee meetings of the Interstate Conference during this session of Congress.

There is also a report current in the nation's capital that the room reservation situation at the Washington Hotel is easing off.

Arrangements Are Completed for Cornerstone Ceremony

THE LAYING OF THE CORNERSTONE OF the new American Federation of Labor Building will take place at 11:30 A.M., Saturday, April 30. Arrangements for the ceremony have been completed. Invitations were being sent out by the Executive Council as this issue went to press. President George Meany has invited President Eisenhower, and addresses will be delivered by the Chief Executive and Mr. Meany. The ground-breaking for the new American Federation of Labor Building, which is being erected at 815 Sixteenth Street in the nation's capital, took place on August 27 of last year. The first shovelful of earth was dug at that time by President Meany. The George A. Fuller Company is the contractor. The new \$3,-



President Eisenhower has been invited and is scheduled to speak



When the ground was broken last August 27, President Meany was flanked by Secretary Schnitzler (right) and Vice-President Bates

500,000 headquarters will overlook the White House. The present headquarters building is at Massachusetts Avenue and Ninth Street. It is almost forty years old. A full account of the cornerstone-laying ceremony will appear in the next issue of this magazine.

Victory in Massachusetts

By KENNETH J. KELLEY

*Secretary-Treasurer and Legislative Agent,
Massachusetts Federation of Labor*

THE labor movement of the Old Bay State has had many distinctions. Its most recent claim to fame is the defeat in a most decisive manner of a so-called "right to work" bill at the 1955 session of the Legislature.

House Bill 860 was introduced by Representative Charles S. Marston III, Republican, a non-union shoe manufacturer from Haverhill. The measure was loaded with legal double-talk. Its purpose was to outlaw all forms of union security.

The Legislature convened on January 5. Shortly thereafter it was discovered that House Bill 860 had been filed without any fanfare. Immediately the officers of the Massachusetts Federation of Labor went into action. At the helm was the president of the Federation, Henry J. Brides, a seasoned and respected leader.

Letters were dispatched to all 750 affiliates of the State Federation of Labor. The evils of the proposed legislation were set forth. It was pointed out that the bill, if enacted, would give the scab and the free rider legal sanction and protection. We also called attention to the fact that some business interests in Massachusetts were secretly backing the "right to wreck" movement. These employers, we pointed out, hope to be able to slash wages and thereby meet cut-throat competition "by dragging our workers down to the level of certain backward states."

Subsequently the officers and members of all local unions in the state were kept informed by legislative bulletins from the State Federation of Labor. The demand for printed copies of the bill at the document room of the State House was enormous. The supply was exhausted in a short time. The State Federation of Labor had 10,000 reprints made of the bill. These were distributed, together with an exposé of the bill, to all local unions, unaffiliated as well as affiliated, to business and civic leaders, to daily

and weekly newspapers, and to the general public.

A. F. of L. President George Meany was promptly advised of the introduction of the bill and received periodic reports of the developments in the campaign. In addition to rendering every assistance to the officers of the State Federation of Labor, President Meany made available 5,000 copies of the valuable "Right to Wreck" pamphlet as soon as it was printed. These were sent to members of the Legislature, the press, local unions and other organizations. Subsequently, copies of the International Association of Machinists' pamphlet about the moral aspects of "right to work" laws were sent to the members of the Legislature. Two of the three authors of the Machinists' articles happen to be from Massachusetts. The Rev. William J. Kelley, O.M.I., is a Bostonian by birth and a frequent visitor to Quincy. The Rev. Dr. Walter G. Muelder is dean and professor of social ethics at Boston University's School of Theology.

THE present writer, as secretary and legislative agent of the Massachusetts Federation of Labor, communicated with every international union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The internationals were told about House Bill 860. They were asked to write their local unions in Massachusetts.

About 200 locals are not affiliated with the State Federation of Labor. That was one of our reasons for approaching the international unions. Our second reason was that locals sometimes respond more readily to a request from their international than to similar requests from other organizations. About half of the international unions replied and signified their intention of urging their locals in Massachusetts to assist the State Federation of Labor in defeating the "wreck" bill.

Once the hearing date was set, a

new slogan appeared on all correspondence sent out from the Federation's office. The slogan was: "Labor Has a Date—February 28." For weeks there were feverish preparations for D-Day. From Cape Cod to the Berkshires, locals were arranging to charter buses to transport their representatives to Boston, the state capital. The crowd that actually showed up at the State House on February 28 exceeded our fondest expectations. An hour before the hearing opened, every one of the 1,200 seats in Gardner Auditorium was filled. By the time the fifteen members of the Joint Committee on Labor and Industries arrived, the aisles, the stairways and the corridors were jammed with an additional 1,000 trade unionists, including many women. Hundreds of others, unable to get into the building, clustered around the windows outside where they were able to see the proceedings, although unable to hear what was being said. Some longshoremen declared a holiday and showed up in their working clothes to give color to the demonstration. Attachés who have been observing legislative hearings for many years said it was the largest crowd that had ever attended any hearing at the State House.

Presiding over the hearing were the co-chairmen, Senator C. Henry Glossky and Representative Michael J. Carroll. They managed to keep things orderly and pretty well under control during the day-long hearing that lasted until 6 P.M.

As the sponsor of House Bill No. 860, Representative Charles S. Marston III read a prepared statement in which he attempted to justify the legislation with specious arguments about "compulsory unionism" interspersed with frequent patriotic references to "individual freedom" and "the inalienable right to work of all Americans." Representative Marston had some difficulty in putting his points across in a hall bursting with

grimly determined union members. Significantly, no other person appeared to support Marston's bill until some five hours later when Joseph Lee, a member of the Boston School Committee, spoke in favor of the bill, delivering a speech that was a masterpiece of tortured reasoning.

Opposition to the bill was overwhelming as well as bipartisan. Governor Christian A. Herter, a Republican, in a strongly worded statement delivered by Commissioner of Labor and Industries Ernest A. Johnson, opposed the bill, calling it "ill-advised" and warning that it "would create industrial strife and jeopardize relations between employer and employee organizations." Following this, 138 members of the Legislature—Republicans and Democrats—publicly recorded themselves as opposed. Both parties recognized the political implications of the bill and the impact that its introduction had upon union members throughout the state.

AFTER the views of Governor Herter and the legislators had been recorded, the first labor spokesman recognized was the present writer. I introduced the Rev. Francis J. McDonnell, chaplain of the Catholic Labor Guild of Boston. Father McDonnell presented the Catholic social teachings and principles on "right to work" laws in a dispassionate and yet persuasive manner.

The trade union opposition to the bill was then presented by this writer. "Right to work" was described as what it really is—"a cleverly designed huckster's slogan that attempts to hide the real intent of this vicious legislation which is to reduce unions to mere social organizations and thereby break down wages and working conditions they have established." In defense of union security I said:

"The union shop is as American as apple pie. It is predicated upon the democratic principle of majority rule. Those participating in the fruits of industrial government share in the costs of maintaining the union responsible for them. This vicious bill would glorify the free rider, the industrial tax dodger who refuses to accept or discharge his social responsibilities."

Urging the Legislature to defeat House Bill 860, I said:

"It is union-busting legislation that is bad for business. It would breed bitterness and industrial strife and

adversely affect the economy of Massachusetts."

Albert G. Clifton, legislative agent for the State C.I.O., summarized that organization's opposition and introduced J. William Belanger, president of the Massachusetts State Industrial Council, C.I.O. Then President Brides of the State Federation of Labor spoke. He described the Marston bill as "a fraudulent hoax upon the public and the jobless workers of the state and nation." He urged the Legislature to defeat it speedily.

Five A. F. of L. leaders expressed the opposition of their particular trade groups. For the building trades the speaker was Samuel Donnelly, president of the Worcester Building Trades Council; for the printing trades, Anthony J. DeAndrade, international vice-president of the Printing Pressmen's Union; for the transportation unions, Nicholas P. Morrissey, New England organizer of the Teamsters' Union. Mr. Morrissey introduced Francis J. Thompson, general counsel of an employers' group of motor freight carriers, who delivered a strong condemnation of the bill from management's viewpoint.

Spokesmen for many other unions expressed strong opposition. John J. Kearney, executive secretary of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders, Local 34, emphasized that not a single worker or employer had appeared in support of House Bill 860. This demonstrated that there was no need for such legislation, he

said. Using an enlarged map, Mr. Kearney showed the blackout of progress that has taken place in the states which have adopted "wreck" laws. Vice-President Philip Salem of the United Textile Workers attacked the bill. He said that the problem of North-South textile competition was not going to be solved by trying to get down to the economic level of "right to wreck" Southern states.

As the afternoon progressed, officers and members of other unions vigorously condemned the bill. These speakers included Francis E. Lavigne, director of education for the Massachusetts A. F. of L.; James P. Meehan, secretary of the State Building Trades Council, and officials of the railroad brotherhoods. Civic and political leaders registered their opposition. More than 3,000 signature cards and signed petitions opposing the bill were submitted to the committee by the State Federation of Labor. Many of the signers remained in the auditorium throughout the long hearing in order to record their views publicly.

One of the highlights of labor's case against the bill was a satirical poem entitled "House Bill No. 860 (Opus III)" composed by Peter A. Reilly, poet laureate of the Massachusetts labor movement and secretary of the Carpenters' District Council of Boston.

Shortly after the impressive demonstration of labor's strength at the hearing, the Committee on Labor and



The author speaks at the big hearing on the anti-union proposal. 'The union shop is as American as apple pie,' he told lawmakers

Industries unanimously voted to reject House Bill 860. The report rejecting the bill was then filed in the House of Representatives. On March 7 a rollcall vote was taken on the question of rejecting the bill. By a lopsided vote of 190 to 2, the bill was killed for this year.

One of the two votes for the bill was cast by its author, Representative Marston. The other vote came from Representative Isaac A. Hodgen, a stationer from the farming community of Belchertown.

While the trade unionists of Massa-

chusetts are pleased, we are not operating under any illusions that the size of the vote is an accurate barometer of labor's strength with the current Legislature. A number of the Representatives who voted against House Bill 860 did so in order to acquire a "good" vote on the official labor record prepared every two years by the Massachusetts Federation of Labor.

Massachusetts labor is far from complacent about its impressive victory. Similar attempts to weaken unions have been seen before. In 1948 a "right to wreck" measure similar

to House Bill 860 appeared as Referendum No. 5 on the state ballot. Also appearing were two other anti-labor referenda, No. 6 and No. 7.

In 1948 we recognized the danger and we organized ourselves to overcome it. The 1948 version of "right to wreck" was defeated, 1,077,642 to 443,368.

Thus, twice within a decade the trade union movement of Massachusetts has responded magnificently to attempts to shackle it, bearing out the adage that freedom must be a fresh conquest with each generation.

New Schools Needed NOW

By CARL J. MEGEL

President, American Federation of Teachers

WHILE Congress fails to act on federal aid for school construction, many millions of youngsters across the nation are being short-changed educationally because of the classroom shortage. Labor, which was instrumental in establishing the first tax-supported schools in 1839, must now campaign once again to save the educational system that is so necessary for the preservation of our democracy.

You can help in this fight by letting your Congressman and Senators know how you feel about the need for federal aid. The Hill bill, which would provide funds for new construction and enable the states to meet other educational requirements such as increasing teachers' salaries, must have

your support to overcome the opposition in Congress.

How can your youngsters and mine learn to become interested and productive citizens when many of them are forced to attend classes in washrooms, coal bins, basements and boiler rooms? Others are going to school in century-old buildings, in garages and churches where curtains separate the different grades.

Yet these children are sometimes the luckier ones. Overcrowding has forced many schools to institute half-day sessions where pupils receive only partial instruction.

Cities ranging from Los Angeles to Chicago and New York all report existence of these double sessions. But nothing has been done by the

federal government to improve the situation in the face of the states' inability to cope with it.

A survey was conducted recently among the American Federation of Teachers' 400 state and local federations. This survey showed American children studying under unbelievable conditions, with tired and desperate teachers, some struggling with classes containing up to fifty and more students.

I have seen these deplorable conditions during the past few years while traveling over 150,000 miles and visiting some 500 school districts. The need is obvious and immediate.

We must have new schools and have them now. Almost 50 per cent of our school buildings were built before 1900. The school construction program lagged during the Thirties and came to a complete halt in World War II.

During this same period, the greatest enrollment came into our grade and high schools with registrations soaring over 38,000,000. The high birth rate of the Forties has continued until the present to such an extent that there is a child born every seven and a half seconds. Where will these children attend classes when they are old enough to go to school?

At least 20 per cent of the nation's children are housed in schools that are fire haz- (Continued on Page 27)



Classroom congestion is unfair to the children and the teachers

UNIONISM IN OFFICES IS ON THE RISE

By **HOWARD COUGHLIN**
President, Office Employees International Union

THE Office Employees International Union is pressing ahead with its drive to organize the unorganized white-collar workers. Complying with the mandate of its last convention, the union has established nine organizational conferences in this country and Canada to expedite the unionization of the millions of unorganized office workers.

These conferences are above and beyond the regular organizational activities of the Office Employees International Union. Each conference covers a region where there is a large potential of unorganized clerical workers and where the O.E.I.U. already has a substantial number of locals.

Local unions in each conference area have pledged regular monthly organizational contributions. The international union has pledged similar sums for the purpose of increasing organizational activities in the conference areas. Conference organizers have been added to the staff of the O.E.I.U. at a rapid rate. Because of the formation of our nine organizational conferences, the staff of the O.E.I.U. has been quadrupled.

It has taken a little more than one year to complete the formation of all the organizational conferences. Much valuable organizing work has already been accomplished, and much is now under way.

Organization of the unorganized has been aided recently by widespread publicity which has been given to the plight of white-collar workers. One example is the University of Chicago survey which showed that white-collar workers have been losing ground steadily to the organized workers who are not in the white-collar category. The survey describes in detail the falling back of the white-collar employees over a period of twenty-five years. News stories about this survey and various magazine articles have brought home to the white-col-

lar worker the need for union membership and effective bargaining on a collective basis between labor and the employer.

The growth of automation in offices has also been given a great deal of publicity. The use of intricate machinery to do the work formerly performed by office workers has created unrest among white-collar men and women. More and more of these new office machines are being bought and put into operation.

A recent survey indicated that, for the first time, white-collar workers as a group approve of trade unionism. This is most significant. It is no secret that office workers in the past have been apathetic to unions or hostile to them. Changes in industrial life have revolutionized the thinking even of white-collar workers.

WHAT has the Office Employees International Union achieved recently?

We completed the unionization of 1,800 office and clerical workers employed by the construction contractors at the government's atomic energy project at Portsmouth, Ohio. Now we are proceeding with a campaign to organize the office and clerical employees working for Goodyear

—the operating company which has taken over at Portsmouth as a result of the near-completion of construction.

In the South, Management Services, Inc., at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, has been brought under the O.E.I.U. banner. The Southern Koehring Company at Chattanooga has been organized. The Presidential Insurance Company, the American Securities Company at Jacksonville and the Ruralist Press at Atlanta have also been organized.

In the Pacific Northwest, as a result of the establishment of the Pacific Northwestern Organizational Conference, the Credit Bureau of Tacoma, the Seattle Hardware Company, the Radiant Manufacturing Company and the Peterson Wholesale Hardware Company—all located in the Seattle-Tacoma area—have been organized in rapid succession.

In the Wisconsin-Minnesota area, due to the formation of the North Central Organizational Conference, the Clairmont Transfer Company and the National Laundry and Cleaners at Milwaukee have been organized. The Northern Machinery and Supply Company at Minneapolis, the International Harvester Technical Division at Milwaukee and the Consoweld



Office workers, like other toilers, benefit when they are organized

Corporation at Wisconsin Rapids also have been added to the organized ranks of the Office Employees International Union.

In Pittsburgh, which comes within the Erie Organizational Conference, the International Harvester Motor Truck Sales and Felix Half and Brothers have been recently covered by O.E.I.U. contracts.

In the area of the Southwestern Organizational Conference, the office workers of the A.R.A. Manufacturing Company and the News Printing Company, both at Fort Worth, Texas, have been organized.

In Cleveland we have organized and placed under O.E.I.U. agreements the Continental Carbon Company, the Gillsey Hotel and the Cleveland Linen Supply Company.

Additional firms which have been organized include the American Lithofold Company at St. Louis, the Pacific Mercury TV Company at Los Angeles, Austin Nichols Company at Newark, A. Sulka, Anheuser-Busch, Group Health Insurance, Jacob Rupert Brewing Company and Mark Cross, all in New York City, and the Continental Baking Company in Washington, D. C.

THESE organizational successes have been achieved in the face of much opposition, both overt and psychological. White-collar workers are subjected to more of the "free speech" of the forced-listening variety now allowed employers under the Taft-Hartley Act than any other group of employees. It is easy to understand that office workers are vulnerable to the employer's "free speech" in view of the closeness of the clerical worker to his employer. In many instances the office employee works within a few feet of his employer.

In one case the Office Employees International Union had obtained a substantial majority of signed cards among the employees of a company in the Middle West. We requested recognition from the employer. This was denied. The union petitioned the National Labor Relations Board for an election. The company stalled the matter before the Board for a considerable period. This time was used by the company for a campaign against the union.

Key anti-union employees were stationed in the company rest rooms all

day long, detaining fellow employees and talking to them against the union. The company also sent supervisors and managerial personnel to the homes of the office workers so that management could make its points to the families as well as to the employees themselves.

The employer's representatives very skillfully raised doubts in the minds of the families of the employees that the company could continue in business if it was organized. They gave the impression that, at the very least, layoffs would be a necessity. They also bolstered rumors that the company would be forced to leave the community and go to the South, where it would not be troubled by unions.

An hour before the election was held, company representatives produced a letter signed by employees of another company who had rejected the union. The letter told the employees of this company that benefits were obtained after rejection of the union. Then the president of the company proceeded to take advantage of the grossly unfair "captive audience" gimmick allowed under the Taft-Hartley Act. Needless to say, the union lost this election, although the vote was very close.

Investigation subsequently revealed that the employees who had signed the letter dealing with the benefits they had allegedly achieved by rejecting the union were not employees of the company within the bargaining unit. In most cases they were supervisors.

It was difficult to prove the intimidation and coercion by the employer which took place prior to the election. It would have required a great deal of time—much more than that allowed under the Taft-Hartley Act to a labor organization which wishes to appeal an election.

Despite these unfair employer tactics, the many obstacles placed in our way in the "right to work" states and National Labor Relations Board de-

cisions which tend to force office workers into units of production workers, our drives are making headway. We believe that in the not-too-distant future we will achieve a large and strong international union of office and clerical employees.

At the recent meeting of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, unanimous endorsement was given to a drive to unionize millions of unorganized white-collar employees. Some of the work envisaged by the Executive Council is already under way. The A. F. of L.'s regional directors of organization in the United States and Canada are laying plans for big white-collar organizing drives.

In Milwaukee a letter has gone out from the regional American Federation of Labor office to thirty-six central labor unions and thirty-one federal labor unions in Wisconsin. This letter has announced a drive to unionize thousands of unorganized office men and women.

The letter points out that members of affiliated unions have relatives working in white-collar occupations. Such relatives can be approached right in the family circle. The message from the regional director of organization also informs the central labor unions and the federal labor unions that copies of the letter, postcards and literature will be furnished by the Office Employees International Union upon request. The letter gives the address of the Milwaukee local of the O.E.I.U.

This is only a sample of things to come in the ever-widening drive to organize the millions of unorganized office workers in the United States and Canada. These workers are now not receiving adequate pay and they lack security of employment. They want better compensation. They want job security and the treatment they deserve as dignified, self-respecting men and women. They can get these things by joining a vigorous union—and in no other way.

Make sure that the goods and services which you and your family buy merit the patronage of sincere trade unionists.

Tell your friends and neighbors to look for and insist upon the union label, union shop card and union service button.

UNION LABEL SHOW GOES TO BUFFALO

By **RAYMOND F. LEHENY**
Secretary, Union Label and Service Trades Department

BUFFALO is the site of this year's A. F. of L. Union Industries Show. Scheduled for May 19 through 24 at the Buffalo Memorial Auditorium, the show will feature exhibits, union-made products and equipment worth \$15,000,000.

Hundreds of the nation's leading union manufacturers, together with A. F. of L. national and international unions, will join in bringing to the general public a graphic example of harmonious labor-management relations.

The Union Industries Show has grown to be one of the biggest shows in the country. As America's outstanding free attraction, the show has been seen by an estimated 5,000,000 persons. Nowhere but at this show can one see the wonders of union skills and crafts on display. Nowhere else can be found the thousands of free souvenirs and free prizes which

are distributed during the run of the show.

Plans have been completed to make the 1955 show one of the most colorful exhibitions ever staged in Buffalo. This year marks the tenth time that the Union Industries Show has been put on by the Union Label and Service Trades Department. Previous shows were at Cincinnati, St. Louis, Milwaukee, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Chicago, Boston, Minneapolis and Los Angeles.

No admission tickets will be issued for the Buffalo show. Everyone will be invited to attend as the guest of the Union Label and Service Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor. Numerous civic and business groups in the Buffalo area are cooperating with the show management to insure capacity audiences.

The public will have a first-hand opportunity of watching skilled union



The show will attract crowds

craftsmen laying brick, plastering, baking, cutting meat, barbering, printing, blowing glass, making pottery and performing the operations of numerous other trades. Just about everything from tacks to trailers will be on display in the exhibit area.

Situated in the most prominent location of the auditorium will be the new display of the American Federation of Labor. The beautiful exhibit symbolizes the American way of life under the free enterprise system, wherein the individual may be free to worship as he pleases and join collectively with other workers in a trade union to secure a higher standard of living.

The Union Industries Show emphasizes the human element—cooperation between workers and fair management—which leads to better labor relations and, consequently, to greater production and greater prosperity.

Meet the Mexican Cement Workers

By **J. REFUGIO AVELAR**
*General Secretary,
Cement Workers Union of Mexico*

OUR union is composed of sixteen locals or, as we call them, sections. Our collective agreements reflect the average prevailing Mexican wage, from a minimum of 12 pesos (96 cents) daily in some small plants in faraway places to a maximum of 56 pesos (\$4.48) daily in most of the establishments controlled by our union. Furthermore, we have the right to share in the profits resulting from the manufacture and sale of cement. In a recent year this sharing in profits added 28 per cent to our total annual wage.

The members of the Cement Work-

ers Union of Mexico work forty-eight hours per week, with double pay for each hour in excess of eight during any day. We have paid vacations.

In most of our factories we have health and welfare plans. These include retirement benefits, medical service, hospitalization and medicine for the worker and his family.

We do not have unemployment insurance. In its place we have a system of severance pay. In any firing not involving the worker's responsibility, the released employee receives three months' pay plus twenty days of wages for each year he has worked.

In some of our agreements we have three months' pay plus thirty days' wages for each year of service. In the event of a complete shutdown caused by an enterprise's going out of business, the employer must pay only one month's severance pay to all of his workers.

We in Mexico have made substantial progress in social and labor legislation. However, wages have not yet reached levels commensurate with the productivity of the Mexican worker.

Raising of the workers' wages constitutes today's major preoccupation of the Mexican labor movement.

Editorial

By GEORGE MEANY

The Right Spirit

THE RESPONSE in trade union circles to the projected merger between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations has been overwhelmingly favorable. Action, of course, speaks louder than words. In this respect, it can be reported that several international unions already have undertaken negotiations on their own initiative with parallel organizations in the C.I.O. to explore the possibility of joining forces. The same is true with regard to a number of state and city central bodies.

This voluntary surge toward unity is indicative of the right spirit. It proves that from the local to the national level, labor in America realizes the great advantages to be gained from getting together and working together for the common good.

Reunion in Vienna

THE FOURTH world conclave of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, which opens in Vienna May 20, provides a welcome opportunity for free labor to emphasize the urgency, in the continuing world crisis, of making peace more secure without the tragedy of further appeasement.

Delegates from the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. to the Vienna conference have already met to coordinate their aims and their work. The united American labor policy seeks to build the I.C.F.T.U. into a more effective organization for its basic

goals of higher living standards, the protection of fundamental human rights and the enjoyment of world peace.

It is the prime objective of free labor to weld a united front of resistance against the most dangerous enemy of mankind—totalitarianism. Whether dictatorship takes the form of communism or fascism, it militates against the best interests of the worker by enslaving him to the state.

The great threat to lasting peace at this time is, of course, the ambition of the Communist conspiracy for world domination. By use of open aggression or secret subversion, the Communists have extended their power over vast areas, wiping out human freedom and subjecting millions of workers to slave labor wherever the Iron Curtain drops.

Since its formation six years ago, the I.C.F.T.U. has helped to repel the Communist drive for subversion of free workers in Europe and in other parts of the world. This work must go on with increased vigor. At the same time, the I.C.F.T.U. is determined to encourage the growth of free trade unions in underdeveloped countries so that working standards and living standards may be raised and Communist attempts to prey on human misery defeated.

Free labor welcomes the renewal of efforts to bring about a top-level international conference to seek agreement for the preservation of peace. But it should be emphasized that the free trade union movement will not sit silent if the lives and hopes of workers are bargained away to appease aggressors for the sake of a peace in name only.

We Beat 'Right to Work'

By HARRY COHEN and J. C. TURNER

President and Secretary, Respectively, Maryland State and District of Columbia Federation of Labor

ORGANIZED labor in the Free State of Maryland has succeeded in defeating compulsory open-shop legislation. This success was achieved by one factor—*cooperation*. This was labor's keynote from early spring of last year to March 24 and 25 of this year when the so-called "right to work" bill was defeated in the Maryland General Assembly.

The obnoxious, misnamed measure was rejected by a voice vote in the State Senate on March 24. The next day, in the House of Delegates, the vote was 70 to 41. In the Senate and House Labor Committees the unfavorable votes were 9 to 2 and 12 to 1, respectively.

The campaign for the passage of a "right to work" law in Maryland was conducted by a group which called itself the Maryland Right-to-Work Committee. It tipped its hand early in 1954 through press releases announcing that a \$100,000 fund had been raised for passing "right to work" legislation in the Free State during the 1955 session of the General Assembly, scheduled to run from January 4 to April 4. Until this announcement was made by the foes of trade unionism, the possibility of the passage of such legislation in Maryland had not been taken too seriously. Now the picture had changed.

A meeting of the Executive Board of the Maryland State and District of Columbia Federation of Labor was convened immediately. Ways and means of dealing with this new menace were discussed. Affiliated local unions and central labor bodies were urged to initiate programs of education for their membership as to the evils of compulsory open-shop legislation. Since so-called "right to work" laws had been enacted in several states by very small margins, all locals were warned against overconfidence.

On May 24, 1954, the forty-eighth convention of the Maryland State and

D.C. Federation of Labor was called to order. The principal business before the session of that convention was "right to work" legislation. When Democratic Gubernatorial Candidate H. C. Byrd addressed the convention he made an unqualified promise of aggressive opposition to "right to work" legislation or any other anti-labor legislation. When Republican Governor Theodore McKeldin appeared as the principal speaker at the convention banquet, he said that no new labor laws were needed in Maryland. Subsequently in private conversation, before his reelection in November, Governor McKeldin promised to veto any "right to work" bill that might be sent to him by the General Assembly.

The fact was highlighted at the convention that only through political action which would reach into every ward and precinct, in both the primary and general elections, could the trade union movement be sure of electing candidates who would vote for labor's program and against anti-labor proposals.

In the primary elections many labor-endorsed candidates were nominated. In Maryland's largest city, the Baltimore Federation of Labor under President Francis S. Filbey and the A. F. of L. Political Education League, led by Chairman Clayton G. Perry, spearheaded organization to fight "right to work" and to elect candidates who would support labor's legislative program and vote against anti-labor laws.

For the first time a punch-card system was put into operation. This made possible the separation of members by voting districts, wards, precincts or Congressional districts within a few minutes. A ward captain could be quickly supplied with a punch-card list of the names of union members in his district without the hours of painstaking effort previously involved in assembling such a list manually.

Labor in Baltimore batted nearly 1,000 in the November election.

MANY thousands of members of local unions in the nation's capital live and vote in the Maryland counties which adjoin Washington. From experience acquired in Virginia, local unions in Washington were unpleasantly aware of the viciousness of "right to work." Such a law has been in effect in Virginia since 1946. Washington locals have had to spend thousands of dollars on litigation in Virginia resulting from this infamous law.

Consequently, when President C. F. Preller called on the Washington Central Labor Union for action in the Maryland territory, action was what he got. Every candidate in the primary and general election was asked to fill out a brief questionnaire as to his position on "right to work," prevailing wages, a minimum wage law, improved workmen's compensation, improved unemployment compensation, etc.

When the dust settled after the November election, labor's endorsed candidates in the suburban counties had all been elected to the Maryland General Assembly except for one member of the House of Delegates. Later, however, when the vote was taken at Annapolis on the so-called "right to work" bill, his vote was favorable.

In Western Maryland, the Cumberland Central Labor Union and the Hagerstown Central Labor Union put on all-out political campaigns. A number of pro-labor candidates were elected in both areas. On the Eastern Shore of Maryland, at Salisbury, the Delmarva Central Labor Union dug in for a hard fight and with good results.

After the election a Strategy Committee of the presidents of the five central labor unions was convened. Then the Strategy Committee and the Executive Board of the State Federation of Labor counted heads in the General Assembly. In the Senate we counted fifteen promises against "right to work" and several doubtful votes out

of a total Senate membership of twenty-nine. In the House of Delegates we counted sixty-five firm promises against "right to work" and a number of questionable votes out of a membership of 123.

It appeared that we had a majority—but certainly not a comfortable majority. More work must be done.

The Strategy Committee recommended, and the State Executive Board concurred, that each central labor union should be asked to establish a speakers' committee on "right to work" and that each local union should hold a special meeting for the purpose of receiving the message.

The Baltimore Federation of Labor distributed a pamphlet entitled "What Is Behind the So-Called 'Right to Work' Bill?" A joint meeting was held by the A. F. of L. State Executive Board and the Executive Board of the Maryland Industrial Union Council, C.I.O. Joint strategy was devised and a joint four-man committee of the presidents and secretaries of the two state labor organizations was given authority to integrate the legislative programs of the two groups.

On January 13, the second week of the General Assembly, a joint A. F. of L.-C.I.O. meeting was held at Annapolis. All local unions of the state were invited. The purpose of the meeting was implementation of the joint legislative program. After a constructive session, the 250 trade unionists in attendance called on the members of the General Assembly from their respective home districts to ask for consideration of labor's program.

On February 15 members of the General Assembly and their wives attended a dinner and entertainment as guests of the Maryland State and District of Columbia Federation of Labor. More than 80 per cent of the members of the General Assembly attended. Breaking bread with labor representatives was something new for a number of the legislators; however, the experience seemed pleasant on both sides.

By now letter-writing from back home to the legislators was in full swing. Local union meetings would be recessed until each member could write a personal letter to his Senator or Delegate at Annapolis. Many legislators received individual letters by the stacks. When any voter takes enough time to write a personal letter

on some subject, it is always meaningful to a man in public office.

Meanwhile, early in March the Maryland Right-to-Work Committee persuaded a Senator to introduce its bill. In the House of Delegates the bill was put in the hopper a week later.

It became clear that the anti-labor strategists were trying to get their evil legislation passed in the hectic log-rolling period that occurs in every state legislature as the day of adjournment approaches.

As the legislative representative of the State Federation of Labor, President Cohen had set up an office in the historic old Annapolis hotel, Carvel Hall. Most of the legislators were staying there. Labor's viewpoint was presented to the solons when they were most receptive, at lunch, dinner or over a cup of coffee in the evening.

A number of key labor advocates in both houses of the General Assembly were giving their wholehearted assistance in the fight. Democrats were greatly in the majority, but Republican votes were also needed. To name one would be to name twenty legislative heroes of the Battle of Annapolis. Nor should we fail to mention that political leaders outside of the General Assembly, both Democrats and Republicans, were lending a hand in the struggle.

Two prominent newspapers, the Baltimore *Sun* and the Washington *Post and Times Herald*, came out with editorials opposing so-called "right to work" legislation. The International Association of Machinists sent each legislator the booklet containing moral studies of "right to work" laws by Father William J. Kelley, Rabbi Israel Goldstein and the Rev. Dr. Walter G. Muelder. The Baltimore Federation of Labor sponsored a rally at which Father Kelley was the principal speaker. Recordings of his speech were made available to the local unions and central bodies throughout the state. The Washington Central Labor Union held a special meeting at which A. F. of L. Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler delivered a dynamic speech against the proposed legislation.

The Senate Labor Committee, after instruction from the Senate, scheduled a hearing on the "right to work" bill for March 22. At the last minute the House Labor Committee decided to make the hearing a joint affair.

At 3 P.M. on March 22 nearly 1,000

persons jammed into the House Chamber in the State House. Labor was represented from every county in Maryland.

When Edward P. Colwill, the chairman of the Maryland Right-to-Work Committee, took the stand, he was asked to name the members of his committee. He admitted that there were only fifteen persons on his whole committee. He could name only three or four of them. It was obvious that Mr. Colwill was simply a tool of the Maryland Right-to-Work Committee's lawyer.

The "great popular support" of the kind of legislation for which the committee had been campaigning was exposed as a carefully contrived legend.

THE opponents of the bill then presented their case. It was well documented and well integrated. President Cohen gave the Senate and House Committees a large number of letters from employers and employer associations, mostly in the building trades, expressing strong objections to a "right to work" law. President Cohen outlined the familiar grounds upon which labor based its opposition.

Albert K. Herling spoke for the Potomac Cooperative Federation, composed of twenty-five cooperative associations, as well as for the Greenbelt Consumer Cooperative, which employs more than 350 persons. Mr. Herling called the proposed law "reminiscent of the age of the yellow-dog contract, the company-owned town, the company-run union, the labor spy and the whole era of industrial espionage and violence which marked a shameful period in the history of our country."

The highlight of the hearing was the testimony of Father Kelley of Catholic University. The "right to work" tag, he said, is deceptive. No law guarantees a man a job. Then he pointed out that "right to work" defies the principle of majority rule which is the foundation of a democratic nation. Passage of the bill, Father Kelley told the lawmakers, would only produce "industrial turmoil and chaos." Most important of all, he termed the bill "immoral." The placing of the "immoral" label on the legislation by a philosopher, a theologian and a man of God had profound meaning for the Maryland General Assembly.

On the morning of March 25, in a

news article in the Baltimore Sun, there appeared the following first sentence:

"Right-to-work legislation—a bitter

issue which has consumed untold hours in cloakroom buttonholing sessions during this General Assembly—died today in just thirty seconds."

The pressure was off. Now the trade unionists could get back to other work which had been accumulating for the last nine months.

PROGRESS IN DETROIT

By FRANK X. MARTEL

President, Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor

THE diamond jubilee celebration of the Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor will be observed on April 28 at a banquet in the grand ballroom of the Detroit Labor Temple. This occasion will stimulate the present generation to give thought to the work of the early pioneers in the Detroit labor movement.

Three-quarters of a century ago a handful of Detroit trade unionists, recognizing the need to commune with one another on problems of the workers, set up a central body of local unions and proceeded from this point to formulate principles on a local, state and national level, giving expression to the philosophy of the trade union movement and working for its implementation.

Before the turn of the century, Detroit had become a well-organized city. At that time it was a leader in many industries, including the manufacture of stoves, shoes and overalls, the processing of tobacco products, shipbuilding and carriage- and wagon-making. These industries were well organized, as were many of the other trades, and Detroit was regarded as a good union town.

About the turn of the century the automobile industry became a competitor of the other employers and drained off much of the available labor. As the automobile industry grew, older industries began to shrink in size and importance, and some of them moved out of the community entirely. The automobile industry expanded rapidly and soon became the dominant factor in Detroit.

With the new industry in the hands of a ruthless, domineering type of employer, every form of obstruction was placed in the way of union organization. Valiant efforts by the workers, especially by the union men

from organized industries who carried their trade unionism with them into the automobile plants, were blocked by the employers at every turn.

Detroit became a happy hunting ground for every anti-labor spokesman of the country. Private detective agencies whose main stock in trade was preventing organization of labor grew by the score. Trick systems of pay, the gang-work system, bonus pay system, piecework pay, were devised to deceive the workers.

Importation of labor from the four corners of the earth and the encouragement of prejudice and division created a "Tower of Babel" in the industrial plants of Detroit.

GRADUALLY the workers began to learn something of the degree of their exploitation, and those who had previously had some contact with trade unionism began to turn to the labor movement for relief. For a generation or more, Detroit was the scene of hundreds of abortive efforts to organize the workers in the automobile industry and other industries.

The Molders, the Machinists, the Pattern Makers and the Metal Polishers maintained some semblance of organization and tried to carry on. Many groups were organized in the auto industry under the banner of the craft unions claiming jurisdiction. The Pattern Makers and the Metal Polishers were among the few who were able to carry on in the face of the terrific opposition of the automobile barons.

In 1920 there were less than fifty local unions in the city of Detroit. Not all of these were in the central body. But shortly before this, a reorganization of the central body had taken place and a campaign was insti-

tuted to build it up and to organize new unions. Local unions were established in the milk industry and in the hauling of building material. Foundry laborers, shoe rebuilders, building service employes and workers in pharmaceutical manufacturing were organized. Unions were organized for workers in hand laundries and cleaning and dyeing houses, for laundry drivers and dozens of other trades. Many of these groups had to be organized two and three times before they became permanent organizations. At that time few of the Detroit building trades had achieved complete organization in their crafts.

The hotel and restaurant employes had organized a few of the downtown places, and there were many industries where only a single department was organized, such as the street railway system and other public utilities. An organization of telephone company employes died a-borning. Several efforts were made to organize the school teachers, and the early participants lost their jobs.

Later the American Federation of Labor ushered in a new era when it authorized organization of the automobile workers into industrial federal unions. The task was undertaken by the central body. The response prompted the A. F. of L. to send a crew of organizers to Detroit under the supervision of William Collins, who assumed the leadership in organizing the auto workers.

The central body worked with Brother Collins and his successor, Frank Dillon. The workers' desire to become members of organized labor grew apace in the auto industry and in many of the other industries in Detroit. The workers were beginning to realize that organization was their only salvation. The time came when

the federal labor unions established in the auto industry were formed into a national council, and later this council became a chartered international union of the American Federation of Labor.

The C.I.O. emerged after the historic American Federation of Labor convention of 1935. The period which followed was a hectic one in Detroit. The city was a battleground. The Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor carried the brunt of the load in defense of the American Federation of Labor. Many of the historic labor events of the last two decades took place in Detroit.

In this great industrial center the employing overlords had had things their own way for decades. They had successfully resisted organization of their employees. But now the workers could not be stopped. They had made up their minds that they would have a union and be free men at last. The workers were seeking not only a better standard of living but a chance to get even with the employers who had ruthlessly dominated them for so many years.

THE organization of workers grew with great rapidity in the automobile industry after the split of 1935. Organization also grew in the other trades, and the American Federation of Labor membership in Detroit went up tremendously. Many members were added to the rolls of unions already in existence, and thousands of other wage-earners became members of the new A. F. of L. unions which were organized. The lead was taken by the central body.

Tremendous strides were made in assisting the Hotel and Restaurant Employees to build up their jurisdiction, and the central body fought many of their battles. The central body also nurtured and fathered the efforts to build up the Musicians' Union of Detroit. It took the initiative to bring the employees of the Consolidated Gas Company into the A. F. of L.

The central body gave the inspiration and lead in the organization of the State, County and Municipal Employees. Now this union has some fifty locals in the Detroit area. The central labor union organized the salt workers into a federal union and then assisted in transferring the group to the International Chemical Workers.

The central body played a leading part in the contest for bargaining rights at Western Union. This resulted in a success for the forces of the A. F. of L.

The Detroit and Wayne County Federation was in the lead in organizing the insurance agents of the Prudential Insurance Company, and fought alongside the local in two of its strikes in Detroit. The central body was among the first to champion the organization of school teachers, and today the Detroit local is one of the most important locals in the American Federation of Teachers. The central labor union also assisted in organizing a number of other teachers' locals.

The central body fathered the organization of the Fire Fighters in Detroit. Today the Detroit local is one of the outstanding units in the international union.

The Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor took the lead in that period in organizing the bakery industry in Detroit, the laundry industry and the teamsters and chauffeurs. The central body also took the initiative in securing charters for Plasterers' Local 850, the Sprinkler Fitters Union, four or five locals of the Building Service Employees, two locals of the Sheet Metal Workers, the Carpet and Linoleum Layers, Locals 10 and 42 of the Office Employees, and many others.

The officers of the central body assisted the Barbers in building the local into one of the outstanding locals of the country. Assistance was also given the Letter Carriers in planning their growth and carrying out their program.

There is hardly a local union in Detroit which has not received direct and valuable aid from the central body in meeting its problems and strengthening its organization.

During the many lean years when Detroit was regarded as a great "open shop" city, the few active trade unionists planned political action, and labor assisted in placing in office many friends who stood by the trade union movement when it was being assailed by the organized employers.

For years the members of the House of Representatives from the Detroit industrial area have had 100 per cent favorable records. There are now six Congressmen from the Detroit area in this category.

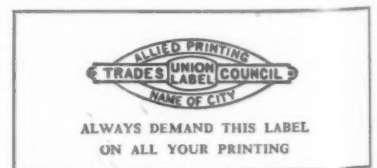
The Detroit and Wayne County Federation was frequently given credit by the late Frank Murphy for encouraging him in the development of his political career. The present Governor G. Mennen Williams, elected four times on the Democratic ticket in what for generations has been a rock-ribbed Republican state, has paid similar tribute to the Federation.

Patrick V. McNamara, the new U.S. Senator, is the first active trade union official ever to be elected to the Senate. He developed as a trade unionist and a public official largely through his activity in the A. F. of L. central body. And he has not hesitated to say so on many occasions.

THE Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor has embraced every opportunity to participate in civic affairs. Its president sits on the boards of directors of no less than twenty civic, charitable and public agencies. He may be the oldest continuous member of the Wayne County Board of Supervisors. Today the services of the president and other officers of the central labor union are sought by the boards and commissions of government in Detroit.

Through the influence of the central body a labor man has been placed on the Detroit Housing Commission, the Detroit Public Lighting Commission, the Detroit Water Board Commission, the Detroit Civil Service Commission, the Detroit Board of Education, the Metropolitan Planning Commission and the Wayne County Library Commission. Labor is also represented on the Michigan Unemployment Insurance Commission and its Appeals Board. Several members have been placed on the State Barbering Board, the State Plumbing Licensing Board and other boards and commissions too numerous to mention.

In many local unions the right to serve as a delegate in the city central body produces some of the sharpest contests. The meetings of the Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor have been the training ground for many of the leaders of local unions.



THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

Labor in the Pelican State

By E. H. WILLIAMS and E. J. BOURG

*President and Secretary-Treasurer, Respectively,
Louisiana State Federation of Labor*

FOR the trade union movement of Louisiana the last eighteen months have been a real testing period. Louisiana labor has proved during this period that it is capable of withstanding reverses.

In the autumn of 1953 the Louisiana State Federation of Labor stood at the pinnacle of thirty years of organizational attainment. Today, after a succession of anti-labor blows that have weakened many of our affiliated organizations, the Federation is held in even higher esteem by the men and women who carry cards of union membership and the other citizens of Louisiana. We have experienced adversity, surmounted it and moved ahead.

Labor in Louisiana has gone through a long and bitter fight with the financially powerful interests that sponsor anti-union legislation. A so-called "right to work" law has been placed on the statute books of Louisiana as a result of heavy pressures brought to bear on the Legislature by those who want labor weak and ineffectual. Our people have suffered.

Out of this costly and uncalled-for struggle we have grasped a new and finer meaning of unity and brotherly effort. We have closed ranks against the common foe without question or hesitation. And we have met our opponents not only with strength but also with honor and good purpose.

Business, political and civic leaders, as well as citizens in all walks of life, now regard organized labor in Louisiana with new respect and confidence. In ever-increasing numbers they are realizing that anti-labor activity has been based on fraud, misrepresentation and self-interest as we charged, and they are determined to do something about it.

The "right to work" project was no surprise to the Louisiana labor movement. It had been on the legislative program of the anti-labor groups ever since the Louisiana State Federation of Labor began to win a

better life for workers in all fields of endeavor.

The "right to work" crowd knew us and we knew them. They had failed on two previous occasions—in 1942 and 1946—to get their scheme on Louisiana's statute books. They knew that they needed a whole lot more than desire to secure adoption of their anti-labor proposal.

Very few people in the state thought the bill was necessary or worth fooling with. Most employers shied away from it as unfair and unwarranted, and a vast majority of legislators wanted no part of it. And in spite of the hue and cry in the newspapers, the average citizen viewed the legislation with outright suspicion.

HOWEVER, the power of money and influence was behind the small group of road contractors and plantation owners. They put the squeeze on businessmen and politicians alike. When the so-called "right to work" proposition came to the Legislature, it didn't fool anybody. It didn't show up as a measure "to benefit workers"—although its sponsors sought to present it in that way—but as a scheme to satisfy a few overbearing contractors and land barons. Even so, the pressure was great enough and the funds ample enough to demand its passage.

But a tremendous resentment built up in the wake of these circumstances. A resentment so strong that many a legislator who voted for the measure would try to be the first to vote for its repeal, and many a businessman who contributed to its sponsorship would be

the last to contribute to another such venture.

It will remain as a lasting tribute to the Louisiana labor movement that it won all the arguments in the legislative presentation. And it will also stand as a memorial to our political strength that we came so close to victory in the actual voting despite the enormous financial power of the forces leveled against us.

The first test came in a 5 to 4 vote for a favorable report on the measure in the Senate Industrial Relations Committee. That was as close as labor could come without actually winning. On final passage in the Senate the "right to work" crowd, after long and tremendous manipulations behind the scenes, could muster only 22 votes out of 39. Hard on the heels of these close votes, labor won a 9 to 4 vote in the House Labor and Capital Committee and later held the anti-labor people to 58 votes out of 100 on final passage in the House.

The support of the Louisiana Farm Bureau, including the sugar cane barons, was enlisted to obtain coun-



Author Williams (left) and Senator Long

try votes for the anti-labor measure. But the "right to work" crowd failed to live up to its end of the bargain, losing a bill to outlaw strikes in harvest time and thus doublecrossing the Farm Bureau and the Sugar Cane League.

The building and construction contractors got a better bargain, but one that shows signs of reacting against them in the long run. The "right to work" scheme is aimed at the building trades unions regardless of any other pretensions by its sponsors. And labor would be the last to pretend that the law has not hurt. Anti-union contractors in Louisiana are engaged in the widespread practice of employing non-union labor. Although we are making headway in exposing this evil practice, it has hurt our unions and our people.

The real reaction to this practice is coming from conscientious public officials. They see the prospect of dangerous obstructions to Louisiana's great building boom. With a \$400,000,000 road-building program in the planning stage, and with giant bridges, causeways and industrial structures starting all over the state, Louisiana's responsible leaders are pondering over the bad characteristics of this anti-labor legislation. It will come as no surprise should many of these figures call for outright repeal of the "right to work" law. Many now desire to do so and are seeking effective means for activating the move.

Although much of the time of labor's representatives in Louisiana has been devoted to fighting the "right to work" scheme and to reducing its bad effects on our people, great organizational strides have been made since the beginning of 1954.

In our article entitled "Louisiana Reports," which appeared in the December, 1953, issue of THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST, we reviewed organizing progress in the agricultural regions, the rice mills, the strawberry fields and the sugar-cane plantations. We outlined our extended efforts in the rapidly expanding chemical industry, in papermaking, in aluminum manufacture, and in the oil fields and refineries. We described activities in the organization of office employees, retail clerks and municipal employees. And we traced the growth of Louisiana's great building trades unions.

In the last sixteen months many steps have been taken to further organizational gains in these and many other fields. In early 1954 the American Federation of Labor established Region No. 16, embracing Louisiana, Mississippi and Arkansas, and named E. H. Williams director of the region. Organizing activities in the area have been conducted in close concert with the national A. F. of L. office and with international representatives in the area. New impetus has been given to organizing activities in all three states, and there has been comprehensive planning for further efforts in this direction.

MERGER holds great promise in our organizational planning. In Louisiana we have always enjoyed close political and legislative coordination between our unions and those of the C.I.O. There is little organizational overlapping in Louisiana. Trade unionists in this state view merger as encouraging greater concentration on over-all organizational work in our jurisdiction.

Fairly soon now the wage-earners of Louisiana will have an opportunity to demonstrate their effectiveness at the polls. A governor, state officials and members of the Legislature will be chosen. Members of unions will vote for labor's friends and against labor's enemies.

Already there are many indications that our people are rising to the occasion with enthusiasm and common sense. There has never been more intense interest in politics than at the present time. L.L.P.E. groups all over the state are examining candidates and issues and will study new ones as they appear. Re-

sponsible labor officials in all sixty-four Louisiana parishes are working day and night to assure our people that the right decisions will be made and that the voice and the vote of Louisiana labor will be united. Always noted for its aggressiveness in politics, Louisiana labor will be doubly aggressive in the coming elections.

The right political decisions in the past have earned many rewards for our people. They helped us to defeat the "right to work" proposition on two occasions, came close to helping us defeat it on a third and bid fair to help us to repeal it. Making the right political decisions has brought benefits to Louisiana's workers and obtained recognition for labor in the high echelons of government. It is the key to our development, and Louisiana labor plans to use it that way.

The Louisiana State Federation of Labor and its affiliates have never let adversity interfere with the broad scope of their planning for the future. We are presently engaged in the formulation of a public relations, education and information program larger and far more comprehensive than anything yet attempted. We have learned from recent events.

Some employers will always fight labor. Some public officials will always oppose labor. But the great masses of the public are essentially working-class people. They need only the truth. Our members can give it to them. When the great masses know the truth about unions and how they serve the community and nation, no power on earth will be able to destroy the labor movement in Louisiana or anywhere else.

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Thirty Cents an Hour!

By ANDREW C. McLELLAN

Consultant, Texas State Federation of Labor

THE international labor agreement now in effect between the United States and Mexico was designed primarily to outline legal procedures to furnish seasonal agricultural labor in various localities throughout the United States when an actual agricultural labor shortage existed. It was assumed that the expression "labor shortage" meant a real physical shortage of domestic agricultural workers.

In 1954 a total of 309,033 contract workers were imported from Mexico to fill a reported national shortage of domestic workers. Twenty-four states utilized the services of these contract *braceros*, with California and Texas being the principal consumers.

According to figures released by employment agencies in Texas, less than 100,000 contract *braceros* were employed in the state at the peak of the agricultural labor demand. The Lower Rio Grande Valley, which utilizes the greatest number, accounted for some 52,000, the El Paso and Trans-Pecos area accounted for another 18,000, while the rest of the state utilized approximately 25,000. The total for the state was approximately 95,000.

In 1954 an estimated 123,000 citizens of Texas left the state to seek agricultural employment in other states. Approximately 100,000 checked out through the state employment offices, while an estimated 23,000 left the state without using the Texas Employment Commission's facilities.

No genuine shortage of labor exists in a state where 123,000 citizens must travel beyond the boundaries of that state to seek employment and at the same time make room for 95,000 imported Mexican contract workers.

The cycle of the domestic labor force migration starts in the latter part of March. Trucks are readied to haul domestic workers as far away as Washington State. The migration to Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin will start shortly.

Most of these American migrants

from Texas to other states will stay away until early in December.

They have been in South Texas since last December, thousands of them, and most of them have been unable to find work of any kind. Yet in spite of this abundance of skilled domestic agricultural labor in South Texas, the U.S.E.S. still permits the recruitment of *braceros* into the same area.

From January 1 of this year to March 11, a total of 2,429 *braceros* were contracted or recontracted at



The pay they get is very low

the U.S.E.S. contracting center at Hidalgo, Texas. This was at a time when thousands of U.S. citizens in the same area were unemployed.

The U.S.E.S. defends the off-season contracting of *braceros* at Hidalgo as a part of its classified program for the use of "specials." These "specials" supposedly perform semi-skilled tasks, such as irrigating and the maintenance of irrigation systems, work formerly performed by citizen labor. However, our field investigations on this "specials" program have shown that skilled craftsmen are being imported from Mexico under the program. Most large farm operators have groups of skilled workmen under contract. These *braceros* do carpenter work, bricklaying, welding, painting, etc., and build homes, garages, barns, warehouses and packing

sheds. Prior to the introduction of this "specials" program, such construction work was performed by citizen labor.

The international labor agreement, in Article 1, clearly outlines the type of agricultural work to be performed by the contract *bracero*. It specifically refers to the maintenance of tools, equipment, etc., and to the maintenance of irrigation ditches and canals. Nowhere does the agreement mention the construction of buildings or the construction of irrigation systems, ditches and canals.

The international labor agreement establishes the minimum wage at fifty cents an hour. The agreement further states that regional prevailing wages will be determined by the U.S. Secretary of Labor through the medium of regional wage hearings. Should the regional prevailing wage be higher than fifty cents, then the higher prevailing wage rate is to be paid.

The failure of the Secretary of Labor to hold regional wage hearings in Texas has brought about a general understanding that the fifty-cent rate is the prevailing hourly wage in agriculture. However, this is not so.

In South Texas a number of contracting farmers are paying their *braceros* only \$3 for a ten-hour day. That is an hourly rate not of fifty cents but of thirty cents. This practice has become so widespread that the thirty-cent hourly rate is the offered rate to domestic agricultural workers, establishing thirty cents an hour as the prevailing wage, completely reversing the purpose and intent of the international labor agreement between the U.S. and Mexico.

RECENT interviews with *braceros* in the area between Eagle Pass and Brownsville, Texas, show that a wage-chiseling pattern has been well established. A number of *braceros*, including "specials," working a ten-hour day are receiving actual wages of \$1.50 to \$3 a day. Then their employers compel these workers to sign a payroll which lists them as having

received the minimum fifty cents an hour.

In the Lower Rio Grande Valley, which embraces the counties of Wilacy, Cameron and Hidalgo, more than 600 complaints have been filed with the U.S.E.S. since January 1, 1954. Most of these complaints involve wage-chiseling. This does not include the hundreds of complaints on file in the various Mexican consular offices in the area which, because of staff shortages, cannot give these complaints due consideration or processing.

The average *bracero* hesitates to file a complaint. He fears a contract termination. In most cases where there has been wage-chiseling, the *bracero* waits until he is beyond the danger of retaliation, when he sees that there is no possibility of a contract extension with his employer. Then, knowing that he must return to Mexico, he files for restitution.

The Texas State Federation of Labor believes that the Internal Revenue Service should be concerned with this pattern of wage violations, particularly in the cases where the *bracero* is receiving thirty cents an hour while signing that he has been paid fifty cents an hour. A farm operator indulging in such practices and utilizing forty *braceros* on a year-round basis, based on a 250-workday year, could list, for tax purposes, wages paid as being \$50,000, "substantiated" by his payroll, while actually he had paid out only \$30,000.

Such practices could not exist with an efficient and adequate compliance program, which the U.S. Department of Labor has pledged itself to furnish under the terms of the international labor agreement.

At the present time there are approximately 120,000 contract *braceros* in the United States, not to mention the 50,000 who, according to Mexican newspaper reports, have jumped contract. Available information indicates that the U.S.E.S. is servicing the 120,000 *braceros* with a compliance staff of eighteen or twenty officers, or one compliance officer to each 6,000 *braceros*.

The original contracts given the *bracero* under the international labor agreement were for six-month periods: the original period and two extensions of six months if such was mutually desired. Under such relatively lengthy contracts, the *bracero*

was able to earn enough not only to pay off his debts in Mexico but also to return to Mexico with a considerable sum of money.

However, the contract time period has been reduced, at the insistence of the farmer groups, and the minimum contract time limit is now four weeks. The contracting farmer is required to guarantee the *bracero* sixty-four hours in a two-week period, or a maximum of 128 hours in the four-week period. Such a limited contract places a psychological handicap on the *bracero*, and the vague promise of a contract extension makes him more submissive to exploitation. He realizes during the four-week period that any protest he might like to voice must be held back for fear that there will be no contract extension.

As early as February 8 of this year, large concentrations of aspiring *braceros* had begun to form in the large urban centers of Guadalajara, San Luis Potosi, Monterrey and Mexicali. Most of these people are without funds. They are being fed and sheltered by the local authorities, but none of the cities named has the

He that hath a trade hath an estate.
—Benjamin Franklin.

proper facilities to care adequately for these people. Their numbers increase as the harvest seasons in Texas draw nearer.

Such concentrations are detrimental to the economy of certain regions in Mexico. Governor Braulio Maldonado of Baja California has had to divert large sums of money originally designated for a progressive public works program to feed, clothe and shelter an average of 5,000 *campesinos* daily who are congregated on the Northern border of Baja California. Similar situations exist in other Mexican border cities, particularly in those fronting on the Texas border.

Apprehension of illegal aliens has dropped from an average of 3,000 daily in 1954 in South Texas to the present average of 300 daily. However, we have no assurance that the Border Patrol will be able to maintain an effective closed border with its present facilities. It is expected that the acid test will be within the next few weeks.

The increased smuggling of aliens from Mexico into the U.S. is also

causing considerable concern. Thousands of aliens are being smuggled into the U.S. by professional smugglers with false passports and documentation to a degree never before experienced by the Immigration Service.

IN ORDER to provide a degree of equality for the American workers who must compete with Mexican *braceros* in agricultural labor, the Texas State Federation of Labor advocates the enactment by Congress of the following:

(1) That the Secretary of Labor be authorized to certify the need for importation of Mexican nationals in agricultural areas of the United States only after the employers or employers' associations have publicly offered to American farm workers the same conditions of wages, guarantees of period of employment, insurance benefits, housing and transportation, a written contract and the right to select their own representatives for maintaining their contract as is now provided in the Mexican nationals' agreement. We suggest that the Department also be authorized to determine what fair and equitable cash equivalent to such benefits as transportation and housing may be when such requisites are not supplied to the American worker.

(2) That the Secretary of Labor be required by Congress to determine the prevailing wage rate to be paid in each agricultural area or region where Mexican nationals may be imported, on the basis of rates paid American workers for work of a similar nature. We also believe that Congress should require the Secretary to establish prevailing wage rates and to determine the actual need for imported Mexican labor only after public hearings are held in each area where application is made for certification of Mexicans. We also suggest that the Secretary establish wage boards composed of representatives of employers and American workers, with a chairman representing the public to conduct such hearings.

We believe that with the above proposals enacted into law, it will be found that there are American workers available for employment on farm jobs, the numbers of workers imported from Mexico will be substantially reduced and eventually none will be required.

Labor NEWS BRIEFS

►District 44 of the International Association of Machinists, composed entirely of employees of the federal government throughout the U.S., has chartered a new local at the Mount Rainier Ordnance Depot in Washington State. It is expected that union organization will now take a spurt at other federal installations in the area.

►Thomas Bann, president of Local 4 of the Stove Mounters, has been elected president of the Trades and Labor Assembly at Belleville, Ill. He was nominated by Joseph Lewis, the Stove Mounters' international president. The previous president of the Belleville central body was George Badgley, also a member of Local 4.

►Newly chartered Local 203, Building Service Employees, has signed its first contract with the Equitable House Cleaning Company, Binghamton, N. Y. The pact increases wages and also calls for paid vacations, holidays, "show up" pay and other benefits.

►Assistance requested by India in reorganizing the instructor training center at Koni-Bilaspur is being provided by the International Labor Organization. The I.L.O. has assigned H. J. Griffiths of Tunbridge Wells, England. He is on loan from the British Ministry of Labor.

►A two-year agreement calling for two pay hikes has been negotiated by Florida Local 3 of the Bricklayers and the Tampa unit of the Associated General Contractors.

►Local 230, Motion Picture Operators, has obtained a 10 per cent wage increase at the Fox Intermountain Theaters in Denver. Ten theaters are involved.

►The Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of Napa, Solano and Contra Costa Counties in California have won a weekly \$6 wage boost.

►Employees of the Chesapeake Manufacturing Company, Baltimore, have voted, 53 to 18, for the Upholsterers Union as their bargaining agent.



President George Meany, in a talk to the A. F. of L. organizing chiefs, put stress on organizing of those who are still non-union

►More than 1,500 members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers employed by the Illinois Power Company have gained a wage increase of 3.8 per cent, retroactive to last September, in an arbitration settlement. Another gain is a three-week vacation after twelve years' service instead of fifteen. The new agreement covers workers of the Illinois Power Company in Springfield, Bloomington and other midstate cities.

►Conferences on apprentice training to be held this year in various sections of the country have been endorsed by Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell. "The need to raise the level of skills of the American work force is urgent," he declared. The Eastern Seaboard conference is to be held May 31 to June 2 at Monticello, N. Y.

►The Ladies' Garment Workers have chartered a new local at Grandview, Mo., comprised of employees of the Long Manufacturing Company. Frank Rother, the union's assistant regional director, installed the charter and administered the oath of obligation to the members.

►Local 293 of the Plumbers has won a \$3 hourly pay scale in negotiations with the Plumbing and Contractors Association at Danville, Ill. The settlement was reached with the employer group after a two-week cessation of work by Local 293 members.

►The International Transport Workers Federation, which was founded in 1896, has 160 affiliated organizations in fifty-four countries and a total membership of 6,000,000. Omer Becu is the general secretary. One of the primary aims of the Transport Workers Federation is "to defend and promote, on the international plane, the economic, social and occupational interests of all transport workers."

►Vocational training experts of Histadrut, Israel's Federation of Labor, have gone to Burma to spend one month advising local authorities on vocational training methods. The Israeli trade unionists were invited by the government of Burma.

►Employees of the St. Joseph Feed and Supply Company, St. Joseph, Mo., have chosen Local 8 of the Grain Millers as their bargaining representative in an election. Contract negotiations start soon.

►Local 3, Upholsterers, San Francisco, has signed its first agreements with Kroll Fine Upholsterers and the San Mateo Awning Company.

►Local 321, Rice Workers, an affiliate of the National Agricultural Workers, has obtained its first union contract with the Louisiana State Rice Company. Local 321, which has recently

won several NLRB elections, represents employees of the largest companies in its region engaged in the production of rice.

▶Local 655 of the Retail Clerks in Missouri have reached an agreement covering the Kroger food markets in the St. Louis and St. Charles areas. The pact, averting a strike, affects 755 members. The pact includes a pay hike and fringe benefits.

▶The first pension checks under the agreement between Local 2, Building Service Employees, and the New York City Building Maintenance Employers Association have been presented to twenty-five window cleaners who belong to Local 2.

▶Local 535, Typographical Union, has signed a new agreement with five commercial printing plants in the Flint, Mich., area. The accord calls for a 7½-hour day, higher pay and additional fringe benefits.

▶Local 728, Teamsters, has reached an agreement with the Simpson Trucking Company, Atlanta, Ga. The accord provides insurance, paid vacations, holidays and additional fringe benefits.

▶The Ladies' Garment Workers have obtained a new accord at the Gerson and Kaplan Company, Houston, Tex. The agreement calls for pensions and the 35-hour week.

▶Local 111, Chemical Workers, has gained new benefits in a new agreement with the Calco chemical plant of the American Cyanamid Company at Bound Brook, N. J.

▶Federal Labor Union 24058 has reached an agreement with optical companies in Fort Wayne, Ind., calling for a substantial wage increase.

▶Firestone employees in Kansas City, Kans., have chosen Local 498, Teamsters, and District 71, Machinists, as their bargaining agents.

▶Local 184, Plasterers and Cement Masons, Flint, Mich., has reached an agreement with contractors boosting the hourly pay rate to \$2.88.

▶The Textile Workers have recently obtained an improved contract with the Pacific Mills, Lawrence, Mass.

▶The government of Pakistan has announced that it is taking action to implement sixty-two recommendations made by an International Labor Organization mission to improve living and working conditions in Pakistan. The recommendations range from measures to raise productivity and earnings to the creation of cottage industries to relieve unemployment.

▶Local 261, Tobacco Workers, has completed a new contract with the Rock City Tobacco Company, Quebec City, Canada. The pact calls for a retroactive wage increase for the employees, an improved vacation plan and additional benefits.

▶Local 25, Building Service Employees, has purchased a plot in Chicago. This is the first step toward a union medical center for 8,000 janitors and janitresses. It is expected that the center will also serve 2,500 watchmen, members of Local 73.

▶Employees of the water works, affiliated with Local 89, City Employees, at Council Bluffs, Iowa, have won an improved vacation plan. City Hall and other municipal employees at Council Bluffs have won boosts.

▶Local 1442, Retail Clerks, has reached an agreement with the Food Employers' Council of Southern California providing for an hourly wage hike of 7½ cents for store clerks.

▶The Butcher Workmen have won an election at the Swift poultry plant in Jackson, Miss. The employees involved in the vote number 120.

▶Lodge 1173 of the Machinists has won an NLRB election at the Continental Can Company, Pittsburg, Calif.

▶A guide to help labor inspectors all over the world to enforce regulations for the protection of workers has been published by the International Labor Organization. The 100-page booklet is written in simple, straightforward style. The guide deals primarily with inspection in industrial and commercial workplaces.

▶Federal Labor Union 22702 has signed a new accord with the Mogul Rubber Company, Goshen, Ind. Wages are increased. The pact between union and company also provides improvements in the incentive program and correction of inequities.

▶Fourteen Gary, Ind., food stores have been organized and four important contracts signed recently by Local 1460, Retail Clerks. The accords provide wage increases and rest periods in the morning and afternoon for all full-time employees.

▶Local 142, Laundry Workers, has signed a first contract with Gibson Cleaners, Geneva, Ill. In addition to higher wages, the pact calls for paid vacations, seniority rights and other benefits for the employees.

▶A wage increase and improvements in the vacation program are included in a new contract between Federal Union 19261 and the Richmond Fireproof Door Company, Richmond, Ind.

▶The Machinists have won an election at the Martinolich Ship Repair Company, Oakland, Calif. The vote was 16 to 4 in favor of the Machinists.

▶Improved benefits highlight a new pact between Local 994, A. F. of L. Automobile Workers, and the Torcon Corporation of Ashtabula, Ohio.



A. F. of L. Secretary William F. Schnitzler delighted members of the Executive Board of the Ladies' Garment Workers Union

Local 175 of the Butcher Workmen has signed an agreement with the Pure Food Meat Market Company, Toronto, Canada. The contract calls for a \$3 weekly wage increase, a reduced workweek and an improved vacation plan.

Local 815 of the A. F. of L. Longshoremen has scored an overwhelming victory in an election at Manpower, Inc., Milwaukee. The vote was 72 to 1 in favor of the A. F. of L. union.

Local 49 of the Electrical Workers won an election which was held recently at the Westinghouse Electric Supply Company in Portland, Ore.

Local 1444, Public Employees, has signed a first agreement with the Berlin, N. H., School Board. The agreement with the Board calls for a union shop and bargaining rights.

Five tire shops in Southern Alameda County, California, have signed contracts with Local 78, International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

Local 316, Office Employees, is actively engaged in organizing the office and clerical employees of the public utilities in Jackson, Miss.

Lodge 834 of the Machinists has negotiated wage increases for employees of the Boeing Airplane Company.

Local 212, Office Employees, has gained pay increases in Buffalo, N. Y., at the Curtiss-Wright Corporation and the Worthington Corporation.

Local 1583, Retail Clerks, has been certified as the bargaining agent for employees of Mangel's, Little Rock, Ark.

Local 1183 of the State, County and Municipal Employees has gained a surgical care and hospitalization plan in Hartford, Conn.

Local 199, Meat Cutters, has won higher wages at the Brown and Scott Packing Company, Wilmington, Del.

New Schools Needed Now

(Continued from Page 12)

ards and over 35 per cent are in schools lacking proper and adequate sanitary facilities. Surveys also show the American educational system already is 350,000 classrooms short. With over a million new students entering the schools each year, the lack of space is a vital problem.

It will require no less than \$14,000,000,000 sparked by federal aid to supply all the new school buildings needed and another \$1,000,000,000 to raise salaries of teachers enough to correct the teacher shortage.

The non-partisan federal aid for school construction bill sponsored by Senator Lister Hill and thirty other Senators is definitely the best approach to the critical situation. For we need a construction far greater than the states and localities are able to finance.

In contrast with the Eisenhower federal aid plan that is more of a boon to bankers and money-lenders, the Hill bill would provide half a billion dollars a year for the next two years in outright federal grants for school construction. The money would be distributed to the states by the federal Commissioner of Education. An allocation formula has been worked out, based primarily on each state's ability to pay for its educational system and on the enrollment in its schools.

Many critics of federal aid feel that the states, cities and school districts should continue to shoulder the burden in paying for the nation's

educational system. But there is every indication that they just can't finance the heavy increase in expenditures for the tremendous construction so vitally needed.

Some of the wealthiest sections of the country as well as the poorest are handicapped by the lack of funds for schools. A majority of school districts, including some in wealthy New York City areas, are shown to have reached or be reaching their legal limit of bonded indebtedness, with more children piling into their schools each year.

ATTEMPTS to stretch limited building funds with low-cost construction aren't successful. New buildings were reported to be necessarily cheap and inferior in many cities.

Efforts of the states to ameliorate conditions also are hindered by population upheavals from city to suburb and from state to state which place intolerable school and tax burdens on the communities affected. The federal government is the only taxing agency that can cope with these shifting school loads.

With federal aid for education, fewer teachers will give up and leave the profession because of instruction hindrances. At the present time teachers are trying to educate children under conditions that give them scant chance to succeed.

Federal aid also will give the states the opportunity to raise teachers' salaries. The teacher who made \$3000 in 1939 now must earn \$6875

to buy the same goods. But out of 1,000,000 teachers, less than 6,000 in the classrooms make \$6875 a year.

The low salaries paid to these men and women who mold the lives of our future leaders is one of the factors causing a shortage of more than 300,000 qualified teachers in this country. At least 350,000 teachers have left the profession in the past few years to take better-paying jobs in industry.

We need 50,000 new teachers to educate the 1,500,000 boys and girls entering the school system each year. Another 70,000 teachers are retiring annually, so we are going to need a total of 120,000 new teachers each year. In 1954 only 30,000 men and women were graduated from schools of education and teachers' colleges—and not all of them entered teaching.

The American public school system is the key instrument for the preservation and maintenance of American democracy. There are people from all stages of society in the classroom. The teacher makes conditions. Yet how can a person teach democracy under "slum" classroom setups? We need the cooperative help of all the men and women in America if the teachers are to do the job adequately.

Those of us who are fair know that the solution to this critical situation is federal aid for education. It is only through an intelligent population that we can continue to hold our place of leadership. The finest possible system of education is necessary to insure the continuance of American democracy. It is our first line of defense and our first obligation as a nation and as individuals.

The Bricklayers' Story

(Continued from Page 6)

Stone masons had been members of many of the bricklayers' unions even before the establishment of the national union. In fact, many of the bricklayers were stone masons and in some cases plasterers as well as bricklayers, and it was decided that this situation deserved recognition, hence the addition of "Masons" to the title of the organization.

Ever since the end of the Civil War there had been a constant agitation for the eight-hour day. To a great extent the demand centered around the passage of laws making eight hours a legal day's work, and between 1867 and 1870 such laws were passed in a number of states. However, in each case there was included a clause providing an exemption in case of agreement to work longer hours or, as in the case of the New York law, no penalty for a violation was provided. Such clauses made the laws valueless insofar as establishing an eight-hour day was concerned, and in 1880 the eight-hour day still remained to be won the hard way.

IN 1884 the New York Bricklayers went on strike for the eight-hour day. They met with determined opposition and, after having been out all summer, they gave up and went back to work at whatever conditions the individual bricklayer could get. During the winter of 1884-85 wages ranged from \$2.25 to \$4 per day for ten hours and in some cases even longer. This situation had an adverse effect on the contractors as well. With an unorganized labor market, bidding became so erratic that many contractors were threatened with heavy losses.

In the spring of 1885 the president of the New York Mason Contractors Association approached Henry Oscar Cole, a former international president and then chairman of the New York Executive Committee, with a view to opening negotiations so that the chaotic conditions could be remedied. The result was an agreement for a nine-hour day and a wage of forty-five cents per hour.

There were two other important provisions of that agreement, one of which set the standard for the fu-

ture policy of the organization. In addition to a provision for the hiring of none but union members, the agreement provided that an arbitration committee would be established, composed of an equal number of representatives of the union and the contractors' association, and all disputes in the future must be submitted to the arbitration committee for adjudication before any work stoppage could occur.

This clause operated so successfully that the international union adopted an amendment to its constitution providing that every subordinate union be required to establish such a committee to meet with a like committee of contractors for the settlement of disputes that might arise.

A number of other subordinate unions had also gone on strike for the shorter workday during the early 1880s, and finally the convention passed a resolution providing that after May 1, 1886, all subordinate unions must be on the books as working the nine-hour day. By 1888 all but nine out of the 116 subordinate unions had succeeded in establishing the nine-hour day and some half dozen had established the eight-hour day. By 1890 the international union was firmly established with a membership in excess of 25,000.

However, these accomplishments were not without their difficulties. In 1886 the "open shop" movement made its appearance. In May of that year the contractors of Providence, Rhode Island, announced that they would henceforth hire anyone they pleased without regard to union membership and that they would set the terms of employment themselves. Three months before, they had signed an agreement with the Providence union providing for the nine-hour day and to hire only members of the union. It appears that pressure was exerted by financial interests of Boston where similar action had occurred.

The Providence union went on strike and remained out the rest of the building season. The strike was renewed the following spring, and by July of 1887 all the members were back to work under union conditions except that the Providence contrac-

tors would sign no agreement unless it contained an open-shop clause. Inasmuch as the union was receiving the conditions it asked for, it felt that it could get along without a written agreement.

A number of other locals throughout the country were faced with the same demand that the agreement must contain an open-shop clause or there would be no agreement. The Executive Board advised such unions not to strike as long as they were receiving the wages and working conditions demanded. If the employers could get along without a written agreement, so could we.

THERE was also difficulty in the integration of stone masons. In many places where exclusive stone masons' subordinate unions had been chartered, there was a tendency to act independently of the bricklayers in placing contractors on the unfair list without consulting the bricklayers' unions in the vicinity. This led to recriminations and disputes between the two trades.

When in 1889 the convention refused to adopt an amendment making it compulsory to withdraw bricklayers wherever the stone masons had declared a job "unfair," a number of the stone masons' locals withdrew and formed the "Stonemasons National Union." That union existed for a number of years. It eventually grew to twenty-one locals and was chartered by the A. F. of L.

Its end came in 1903 when a dispute in Pittsburgh with a stone masons' union chartered by the Bricklayers and Masons International Union was submitted to an arbitration committee composed of other building trades unions. That committee ruled that the Bricklayers and Masons International Union was the only union that officially had jurisdiction, even though at the time we were not affiliated with the A. F. of L. The arbitration committee ordered the Pittsburgh stone masons to reaffiliate with the international union and their A. F. of L. charter was withdrawn. The stone masons of Pittsburgh and other locals accepted the decision in good grace and once more returned to the fold.

From 1900 to 1910 the organization tripled its membership. William J. Bowen was elected president in 1904, and from that date until his

resignation to become president emeritus in 1928 he was the dominant figure in the organization. One of his greatest accomplishments was the placing of the finances of the organization on a sound basis.

Previous to that time the per capita tax had ranged from eight cents per year per member to sixty cents per year. When a local needed strike funds, it had to submit a "bill of grievances," the Executive Board would estimate the assessment required and this, in turn, would be submitted to a referendum of the subordinate unions. If a two-thirds majority approved, the assessment was ordered.

This was a cumbersome affair, and in many cases the strike would be over with and either won or lost by the time the machinery for providing assessments could get under way. In spite of the recommendations of practically all the presidents from 1870 on that a permanent strike fund be established, nothing was done about it until 1891 when a reserve strike fund was voted and an assessment of twenty-five cents per member levied for that purpose. However, for a number of years thereafter that strike fund was used to make up deficits in the general fund. A change was then made in the system of approving strikes. The convention of 1896 amended the constitution so that the Executive Board could send a deputy into any area where trouble arose. The deputy would have authority to settle the dispute or to recommend a strike. If the Executive Board accepted his recommendation, it could order an assessment in support of the strikers.

THE changing techniques of building were beginning to have their effect on bricklayers beginning in the 1880s. In the early days of building in this country, buildings only rose to walk-up heights. With the invention of the passenger elevator, however, buildings could rise to as much as ten stories and in 1883 the sixteen-story Monadnock building was started in Chicago. However, with load-bearing walls the lower stories had walls so thick that they took up nearly all of the valuable commercial space at the street level. In 1884 William LeBaron Jenney designed the Home Insurance Building with the entire framework of iron and steel. The

loads of the walls were carried by the frame, thus allowing for thin curtain walls and increasing the rentable space.

Wrought and cast iron had been used previously as fireproof framework, but it was found necessary to protect the iron and steel which had a tendency to buckle in the intense heat of a fire. This protection at first consisted of encasing the frame in brick masonry. Later, however, hollow tile was developed for this purpose and still later, around the turn of the century, cinder concrete came into use.

These changes brought about the development of fireproofing subcontractors who at first attempted to employ specific crews of fireproofing masons. This development was fought by the international union, which was opposed to fractionization of the trade. The incursion of concrete to replace brick and stone was also opposed, and for a number of years the union's official organ devoted many pages to showing the defects in concrete masonry. Eventually that position was abandoned because bricklayers did not like to handle concrete and were satisfied to leave it to laborers.

In 1910 the international union adopted an amendment providing for a mortuary fund. Even before the establishment of the international union, many of the local unions had provided for the payment of funeral expenses of deceased members by assessing each member \$1 upon the death of a member, and some of them had established a large fund through a regular monthly assessment for that purpose.

The numerous funds established by the locals brought about considerable difficulties, because traveling members were often required to pay into such funds even though their stay in a particular jurisdiction was only temporary and they were paying into such a fund in their home union.

The only solution would be for the international union to establish such a fund so that all members would be covered by one assessment. Accordingly, the International Union Mortuary Fund was established.

At the end of 1910 the total membership was in excess of 75,000 and

there was a balance of more than \$223,000 in the treasury. But this did not come as easy as it sounds.

Beginning about 1904, the "open shop" movement took on tremendous proportions. The National Association of Manufacturers had embarked on a campaign to destroy the unions and had raised millions of dollars for that purpose. By 1907 at least 40 per cent of the local unions had been involved in an open-shop fight.

Although many of the mason contractors' associations hesitated in joining that movement, it became necessary for the Bricklayers to strike in support of the unions in other building trades that were being attacked. At the 1906 convention an assessment of \$1 per member was voted to combat the open-shop activities of the employers.

NEW tactics were developed as in the cases of Alton (Illinois), Aberdeen (South Dakota) and Los Angeles. In these cities the international union set up competing contracting firms to take jobs at no profit in order to put union men to work. In all three cities they were successful and soon obtained union agreements. In these cases the open shop was defeated without the cost of one cent to the union since the original capital was returned intact at the end of the fight.

Employers then went a step further, as in the case of El Paso, and refused to sell brick to union contractors in order to support the open-shop group. Our answer was to build a new and modern brick plant which had the desired effect in short order.

We were also plagued with internal difficulties during this same period. Ever since the union's founding many of the local unions had accepted plasterers as well as bricklayers because in many of the small towns a mason had to be adept at all three trades—stone masonry, plastering and bricklaying—in order to get enough work to keep him busy during the entire building season. The Plasterers National Union had been organized in 1864, but by 1868 we had almost as many plasterers in our membership as they. During that year negotiations were started



to attempt to amalgamate the two unions. The Plasterers had expressed a willingness to amalgamate, but with the decline in building after 1869 the proposition fell through.

During the depression of the 1870s the National Plasterers Union was wiped out altogether, but it was reorganized in 1882 as the Operative Plasterers International Association. Little attention was paid to its activities until about 1905 when the Plasterers began to organize locals in towns where we had mixed locals, requiring our international union plasterers to pay an initiation fee when working in those cities where the Operating Plasterers International Association had organized locals.

In 1906 an agreement was arrived at with the Plasterers providing for an interchange of traveling cards so that members of either union could work in cities where plasterers were organized without the necessity of paying another initiation fee. While this arrangement worked fairly well for a time, it did not stop the O.P.I.A. from organizing locals where we already had organized the plasterers. This situation broke out in open warfare in 1910 with resulting building tieups in Newark (New Jersey), Springfield (Massachusetts) and Rochester (New York).

At the urging of the contractors' associations in those cities, a conference was held at which an agreement was arrived at reinstituting the interchangeable card and providing that we would not charter any exclusive plasterers' locals. However, the convention of 1910 had voted that the name of our organization be changed to Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union of America, its present title. In 1911 the two unions again met in conference and came to an agreement with respect to cement finishers.

That agreement provided that cement masons would be accepted into either union but that no exclusive cement finishers' local would be chartered by either union. However, in 1915 the O.P.I.A. amalgamated with the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers and changed its name to "Operative Plasterers and Cement Finishers International Association." Although that action was protested by Bowen as a violation of the 1911 agreement, World War I intervened and nothing was done about it.

The year 1916 saw, perhaps, the greatest number of changes in our organization, for in that year the Marble Masons and the Tile Layers were absorbed into the international union and a relief fund was established.

The affair of the Marble Masons started with a misunderstanding as to an agreement among the stone trades arrived at in 1907. The International Marble Workers Association had claimed jurisdiction of all interior stone as well as marble. This claim was not agreed to by the Bricklayers' representatives and was finally waived by the Marble Workers' representatives. However, the report on this conference in the *Bricklayer and Mason* failed to note that such claims were waived, and marble workers began demanding jurisdiction over all interior stone. Some local strikes occurred over this question during the intervening years. In 1916, when they demanded the setting of all interior stone in the Kansas City (Missouri) Terminal, a strike resulted which tied up all work in that city and spread to other cities as well.

President Bowen then arranged a conference with the Marble Dealers Association which resulted in an agreement to hire only marble masons who were members of our international union. This action marked the beginning of the end for the Marble Workers' organization, and within two years they were completely absorbed.

The Tile Layers were absorbed in much the same manner and under similar circumstances. The Tile Layers' representatives in New York and Pittsburgh began demanding and forcing jurisdiction over exterior facing tile which, unlike ordinary ceramic tile, was set with bricklayers' tools and was more closely akin to the setting of brick and stone. The Tile Layers' representatives used their affiliation with local Building Trades Councils to force shutdowns. However, in this case they were not supported by the A. F. of L., which ordered them to amalgamate with the Bricklayers.

Another significant event took place in 1916 when we made application and a charter was granted to the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union of America by the American Federation of Labor on October 16, 1916. From 1886 on,

attempts had been made to gain the affiliation of the Bricklayers. Such eminent speakers as Samuel Gompers, Peter J. McGuire and James Duncan had addressed our conventions and urged affiliation. At least three referenda were held on the question, each resulting in a negative vote.

This attitude on the part of the Bricklayers was explained by the fact that in most of the smaller cities and towns specialization had not progressed to the point where the masonry trades were separated. In addition, the American Federation of Labor had issued charters to stone masons, plasterers and cement finishers. The Bricklayers feared that affiliation with the A. F. of L. would require such separation.

By 1916, however, the subordinate unions in the larger cities were of the opinion that our interests would be better protected if we were on the inside, and this resulted in the resolution to affiliate.

The establishment of a relief fund—first conceived as a pension fund—had been agitated from the early 1880s. However, the organization had been conceived and established as a protective union, and there was a feeling that somehow benevolence and protection could not be combined successfully.

With the successful operation of the mortuary fund, experience indicated that these purposes could supplement each other, and the fund was established. Originally payments of \$5 per week were made to members of twenty years' standing and who had reached the age of 60. Changes were made from time to time, but with the passage of the social security laws that function has been largely assumed by the federal government.

DURING the 1920s the organization grew rapidly. By 1928 the membership totaled in excess of 130,000, and with this growth in membership and the establishment of the mortuary and relief funds, finances grew in proportion. By July, 1928, our net worth had reached nearly \$4,000,000. This had been achieved in spite of some bitter struggles over the plasterers' problem and the revival of the open-shop battles in the early 1920s.

Then came the depression of the 1930s. Since that phenomenon is still within the memory of many readers of this article, it needs no

elaboration here. Suffice it to say that members in large numbers dropped out of this as well as other unions. In 1933 we had reached a low point of less than 35,000 members.

Moreover, many of the craftsmen who made every effort to retain their membership had a hard time getting sufficient funds to pay their dues. The international union initiated the "waiver note" system as a measure of relief. This system permitted the members to pay their dues with a promissory note, but they waived their rights to participate in the mortuary and relief benefits until such

time as the notes were paid off. Upon payment of the notes they again had continuous good standing entitling them to these benefits.

An outstanding accomplishment of this period was the fact that our finances were maintained throughout the depression. For a few years relief benefits dropped to \$12 per month, but by 1937 they had been resumed to the full amount. Not a single obligation of the mortuary fund was ever defaulted.

By 1940 our membership had climbed back to nearly 70,000. World War II interrupted this progress, but after the war the upward climb

Our readers' attention is directed to "Bricklayers' Century of Craftsmanship," a book which is just off the press. This volume provides a detailed and highly interesting account of the history of the Bricklayers. The author is Harry C. Bates. Orders should be sent to the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union, 815 Fifteenth Street N.W., Washington, D.C. The price is \$3.

was resumed. Today our membership is considerably in excess of the 1928 peak.

A Few Remarks on Automation

By CARL HUHDORFF

Research Director, International Association of Machinists

THE role of the labor movement should be to welcome automation. We must be prepared to use our influence and resources to prevent this improved technology from causing great dislocation of workers and prevent unemployment and great suffering in this country.

History is full of incidents where workers, organized and unorganized, have fought progress by fighting the introduction of the machine. Back in the last century, shortly after the beginning of the industrial revolution, while the French were introducing an automatic loom, unorganized workers resisted and damaged these machines by throwing their wooden shoes into the vital parts of the looms. In England, about 1811, organized bands of masked raiders known as Luddites made systematic raids, destroying newly introduced machinery.

Most labor leaders today are on record as favoring technological progress, and most of them mean it; but I can see a situation where if in some locality a large number of employees were suddenly faced with losing their jobs, they would want to fight. Very few would condemn them if they did. But what would they gain?

As trade unionists we will have to demand that the benefits of improved production are distributed to all sections of the economy. We must make every effort to demand higher wages so that consumers will have enough

money to buy the products of industry. As productivity is increased we must also insist on shorter hours, either in the form of shorter days or longer vacations, or possibly both. We must insist on greater pensions and greater social security benefits. We must make a strong demand for adequate termination pay for all employees who work under our agreements, and we should strive for greater employment benefits now, because it is too late to try to raise unemployment benefits after we have serious unemployment.

We must insist upon the rights of displaced employees to have ample opportunity for retraining for the better jobs that will result as the operation of the machines becomes more technical.

We may find as time goes on that we will have to alter some of our apprentice programs, and there may be some jurisdictional problems with other unions. Certainly if the maintenance man is going to have to be a combination electronics technician and machinist or tool and die maker, we will have to insist that he be properly trained while he serves his apprenticeship.

I can also see some real problems for management in those places where automation is carried on to a high degree, particularly if they are using a piecework system of paying wages. This may be one way to get rid of the piecework system, and if the changes are drastic enough, we will see the

junking of some present job evaluation systems. This, in my opinion, is also good.

Labor's role in the era of rapid technological change is no different than what it has been in the past. Essentially our function is both to protect and improve the conditions of employment of those we represent. We must continue to insist on a fair distribution of the fruits of productivity—for without this insistence we will fail to fulfill an inherent obligation to our free enterprise economy.

As the state of our technological development changes and swerves to greater heights, so must organized labor move with this progress to protect the interests of the wage-earner and to keep the economy on an even keel. To be certain, we of organized labor must better mold our organizations to react just as rapidly as technological changes occur.

The need to become more flexible without sacrificing that which we have gained in the past is the challenge.

We must continue to see to it that the physically handicapped are given the opportunity to work and contribute to the nation's prosperity.

All they ask is a fair and equal chance. The contributions of the handicapped, like those of all other workers, are needed.

WHAT THEY SAY

Mrs. Margaret Thornburgh, director, Women's Division, L.L.P.E.—



"He who pays the piper calls the tune." Labor's League for Political Education has opened its 1955 voluntary contribution drive. All union members and their families now have an opportunity to help elect liberal candidates. The importance of participation by union families to make the 1955 drive successful is being stressed by the Women's Division in meetings throughout the nation. No one has more to gain through good liberal legislation than the housewife who has to balance the family budget. The only way that we may be assured of the enactment of good legislation is to elect candidates to office who have the same ideals as our own. To help accomplish this, it is the obligation of all of us to make our voluntary contribution to Labor's League without delay.

William L. McFetridge, president, Building Service Employees International Union—



It seems to me that organizations—labor, business, fraternal, veterans', women's and service groups—are basic in our way of life. They give to ordinary folks the chance to live democracy, to participate in the day-to-day life of the country and its communities. Representative government can endure only when there are multiple opportunities for participation by the average citizen. And the only way in which millions of people can participate in the life of a great nation is through a diversity of voluntary organizations, each in its own field and in its own way contributing to the development of the country. A free man demands the right to speak as well as to listen, to make motions as well as to second them. He must

be given the opportunity to make suggestions, plan programs and do things for himself in concert with his neighbors. Without his assistance and participation, a drift toward one-man rule is inevitable. Some things we must insist that government do on behalf of all, but some things we must do for ourselves. Only in a country where there are a great number of voluntary organizations is the right of a free labor movement to exist likely to be recognized. Whatever strengthens voluntary organizations strengthens our free way of life.

Martin P. Durkin, president, United Association*—



Every trade unionist should be acquainted with the history of trade unionism just as he is acquainted with the history of his country. The history of our nation is taught so that our people will come to understand the ideals which guided the nation through bad times and through good times, in time of peace and in time of war. And so it is with the history of trade unionism. To understand labor's ideals, purposes and role in a democratic nation, we must turn to trade union history. The history of the American labor movement is wrapped up in the history of the nation. Long ago, trade unionists were putting into practice the ideals of liberty, justice and fair play which formed the foundation of our nation. No one can read of the fight made by trade unionists for the right to vote for all citizens, instead of for property owners exclusively, without understanding that those working people were fighting for true democracy. Nor can you read of labor's long and successful fight for free public education without understanding just how much the early trade unionists believed that America was a land of opportunity and how much they wanted their children to be

*United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry of the United States and Canada.

equipped to share in those opportunities. No trade unionist can be said to have learned his trade until he has also learned some of the history of the movement of which he is a part.

James G. Cross, president, Bakery and Confectionery Workers—



Probably the hardest lesson to teach is a lesson in safety. In our plants each day we see people working with utter disregard for the machines they are operating. We have many dangers which are ever present in our industries. Often the more we know a machine the less we respect its ability to maim or kill. If we get lax in operating it, the very machine which makes our day's work easier, which has helped cut down our hours of work by increasing our productivity, can suddenly be our worst enemy. Safety should be the concern of all. It is to our benefit if our fellow workers are safety-conscious. All workers in a plant are a team. One careless worker can endanger the lives of any of the others. Probably the best safety advice that can be given anybody is that he be afraid. Treat that machine as though it were a hissing snake, ready to strike when you get too close.

C. J. Haggerty, secretary, California State Federation of Labor—



The inspirational life of American labor owes its existence to the vision which its early leaders caught of man imprisoned in an industrial society. To be sure, the labor movement means more than this—but unless its economic ambitions are seriously tied to a sense of social consciousness, it must perish before superior material power. In the pursuit of immediate goals we tend to forget that grasp of brotherhood which united workers against a common tyranny. The problem requires a renewal of labor faith, a recognition that the movement is something more than a five-and-dime counter for the negotiation of progress.

Building Going Up

JACKIE and her best friend, Susan, were making peanut butter sandwiches in the Maxwell kitchen after school.

"Milk?" asked Jackie, getting the bottle from the refrigerator.

"Thank you," said Susan.

Jackie poured two glasses and handed one to her friend. They had only half-finished their snack when Jackie's brother, Bob, came into the kitchen.

"Anything left?" he asked, filling a glass with milk.

"Plenty of bread and butter and peanut butter," said Jackie. "You'll have to fix it yourself, though. Here's the knife."

He worked for a minute, then pulled up a chair and sat down.

"Where's Mom?" he asked.

"She's at the ladies' auxiliary meeting," said Jackie. "She told us this morning. Remember?"

"Oh, sure, now that you mention it. What was on the program?"

The Maxwell family were staunch union members. Mr. Maxwell had carried a card since he was a very young man on his first job, before he was a married man with a family. His wife, just as ardent a trade unionist, was active in the auxiliary.

The Maxwell children, Jackie and Bob, were both members of the Junior Union. There was always some union activity going on, some meeting or program to interest and occupy the family, either individually or as a family group.

"Bob!" exclaimed his sister. "Don't you know what Mother was going to do?"

"Make a speech about something on the trade union front, I guess," said Bob. He helped himself to more bread and made another sandwich.

"To let you know what Mother is doing today, let me just ask you one little question," Jackie said. "Who in our family just got back from Washington with some excellent pictures?"

"Zowie!" said Bob. "Don't let Mom know I had forgotten that."

Turning to Susan, he said: "Have you seen the Washington pictures yet?"

"Not yet, but I expect to before long."

"Susan, how have you missed?" he asked. "Oh, well, I guess at that we've only had three showings."

"Well, Bob, Mother likes to know what she is talking about," said Jackie. "She has spent hours getting her talk prepared to go with the pictures."

"What are the pictures all about?" asked Susan, finishing her milk.

"Dad's trip to Washington," Jackie replied. "You see, there was this big special meeting of the building trades, and he went as a delegate. Then he decided to see how the new American Federation of Labor building was coming along over near the White House."

"I knew he went to Washington," said Susan, "but I didn't know what the pictures were all about."

"Well, Dad brought back some of the most wonderful pictures you ever saw," said Jackie. "He took pictures of the old American Federation of Labor Building and the new one, which is just going up, you know. Then he took pictures of the Gompers Statue. He also got some terrific shots of the White House and the Capitol and the Lincoln Memorial and the Jefferson Memorial and ever so many other interesting places and monuments and buildings."

Then Bob decided it was time for him to speak and let Jackie catch her breath.

"Mom got the pictures together in a certain order and made up commentaries to go with them. Then she and Dad got into a discussion about what should be put in and what should be left out, and so forth. By the time Mom had it arranged to suit her, we had quite a show."

Mrs. Maxwell came in quietly and heard Bob's last few words. She greeted Susan and her own children pleasantly. Then she took up the discussion with them.

"The Washington pictures are very good," Mrs. Maxwell said. "But the

important point, as I see it, is the fact that organized labor touches the hearts and the minds of the American people. It is right that labor should have its headquarters in the nation's capital. The ideals of unity and brotherhood as typified by trade unionism are part and parcel of our democratic attitudes and democratic way of living. Now the American Federation of Labor is going to have a fine new building. Mr. Maxwell's pictures show that the work is progressing very nicely. But you know, children, what gives an edifice such as this its real meaning is the fact that it is built upon the principles that have made organized labor a great force for human betterment."

"Mom, are you making a speech?" asked Bob with a grin.

Susan said:

"Please do go on, Mrs. Maxwell."

"No, Bob, I won't make a speech," said his mother with a smile. "But when we think back to the early history of the American Federation of Labor, it does seem incredible that from 1881 to 1955 so much progress could have been made. Today trade unions are established organizations and are respected as part of the community. Not so long ago it was a dangerous thing for a man to belong to a union. Yes, labor has come a very long way in this country, and soon the American Federation of Labor will be dedicating its new building. That, children, will be a milestone in our history—not only union history but national history."

The American Federation of Labor will be glad to send worthwhile free literature about labor to any girl or boy who is interested. To obtain this free material, please mail your name and address to Junior Union, 901 Massachusetts Ave. N.W., Washington 1, D. C.



LISTEN TO EDWARD MORGAN

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